Beethoven and the Piano

Philology, Context and Performance Practice • Edited by Leonardo Miucci, Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Daniel Allenbach and Martin Skamletz

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Forewords

The Beethoven jubilee year 2020 inspired a wealth of activities both for academic circles and the public at large. As the most important institution concerned with researching and promoting the work of the Bonn-born master, the Beethoven-Haus was the hub of a panoply of different initiatives. Some events were organised on its own premises, such as the conference "Beethoven-Perspektiven" in February 2020. Other conferences were collaborative efforts with other institutions, such as the 17th international conference of the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung (German Musicological Society), "Musikwissenschaft nach Beethoven", in September/October 2021.

The jubilee was also the occasion for establishing new ties between institutions, such as with the Hochschule der Künste Bern HKB. The Beethoven-Haus supported the initiative of a group of Bern researchers to organise a scientific conference on the topic of Beethoven's relationship to his favoured instrument, which became the 2020 conference in Lugano and ultimately resulted in this book.

It was a major achievement that the COVID-19 pandemic did not stop the realisation of the research work gathered in this volume. The conference that inspired this volume had to be held online, yet the idea promoted by the organisers was to link the scientific work to performance practice. Thus, despite the logistical difficulties, two concerts and masterclasses were held at the Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano.

The essays collected here are particularly valuable for their focus on a repertoire central in Beethoven's production – the piano works – and for the use of only a few specific methodological approaches: philology (including sketchbook studies), performance practice, and organological research. These count amongst the most thriving and productive fields of research in Beethoven studies in recent years.

It is therefore a pleasure to contribute my institution's greeting to the present volume, which is born from the first official collaboration between the HKB and the Beethoven-Haus. I wish all readers a pleasant time in the company of the exciting research findings presented in this book.

Christine Siegert, head of the research department
"Beethoven-Archiv", Beethoven-Haus Bonn

☆

The Italian Musicological Society welcomes with great pleasure the publication of this volume, which was the result of the international conference "Beethoven and the Piano: Philology, Context and Performance Practice", organised at the Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano in November 2020. The experts on Beethoven's pianism who met on that occasion addressed many of the still-unresolved questions surrounding this literature. Engaging with the fields of musical philology, notation history, organology and performance practice, they once again demonstrated how fruitful and virtuous is the interaction between scientific and artistic research. We are therefore certain that this volume will not only pique the interest of scholars but will also – and above all – inspire performers of Beethoven's works, who will be called upon to reconsider previously overlooked aspects of this music and will be able to draw useful insights from these articles. We wish you all a good read.

Claudio Toscani, President of the Italian Musicological Society

☆

The Hochschule der Künste Bern HKB cultivates the closest possible interaction between the three pillars of research, teaching and practice. The HKB also celebrated the Beethoven anniversary in three ways: in advance with the 2017 symposium "Rund um Beethoven – Interpretationsforschung heute" (Around Beethoven – Interpretation Research Today), which resulted in the anthology of the same name[1] and, in addition to lectures, also included concert lectures, fireside chats, a young artists' forum and concerts. Secondly, the HKB was involved with the "Magic Piano" project, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, the core of which is "Mit Beethoven zu Hause" (With Beethoven at Home), an archive of approximately 150 piano rolls of historical recordings of his piano works.[2] In the coming years, these rolls will be digitised and placed on the website magic-piano.ch, enabling listeners to enjoy these recordings at home. The third part of HKB's Beethoven celebration was the international symposium "Beethoven and the Piano. Philology, Context and Performance Practice", for which the HKB joined forces with three important partners: the Beethoven-Haus Bonn, the Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano and the Italian Musicological Society. All of these institutions are already linked by years of friendly and fruitful cooperation as well as a personality who

1 *Rund um Beethoven. Interpretationsforschung heute*, ed. by Thomas Gartmann and Daniel Allenbach, Schliengen 2019 (Musikforschung der HKB, Vol. 14), https://doi.org/10.26045/kp64-6178.

2 See www.magic-piano.ch (last accessed 1 September 2022).

holds the reins with tireless enthusiasm and also leads the four-member editorial board: the musician, researcher and educator Leonardo Miucci.

Thomas Gartmann, head of research, Hochschule der Künste Bern

☆

The Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana would like to express its sincere thanks to the Hochschule der Künste Bern, the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn, the lecturers and all the participants of the Beethoven Symposium 2020 who made it possible for this enlightening conference to take place despite the pandemic restrictions.

Christoph Brenner, General Director, Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana

Preface

Together with the symphonies and the string quartets, Beethoven's piano works constitute the core of his output both in terms of their compositional ambitiousness as well as their reception. This book reflects the state of the art for research on these topics on the occasion of the Beethoven jubilee year 2020. Beethoven's piano works are considered from three main perspectives: performance practice, philology, and the technical development of the piano. The relationship between the notated score and its realisation is a key issue in performance practice studies: how much and what kind of information is implied in the presence or absence of certain notational signs? If no indication is present, the performer is expected to resort to common standard practice. But what was the standard practice in the time of deep transformation in which Beethoven lived? And was the composer himself not constantly unsettling the rules and consciously working against expectations of all kinds?

In order to interpret the suggestions contained in the notation, a second perspective – the philological approach – is obviously necessary. Though generations of scholars have examined the sources, new insights can still be gathered from the manuscripts and printed scores regarding the composer's working habits in preparing his compositions and some peculiar traits of notation that he invented.

Finally, Beethoven's time witnessed the greatest development in piano building, which is the third perspective from which his works are examined here. Many questions remain open with respect to the instruments he knew and played, which has wide-ranging consequences for how today's scholar and performer should view his piano compositions.

The section on notation and performance in this book starts with Clive Brown's masterful, rich examination of the different performance suggestions of Beethoven's pupil Carl Czerny. Focusing on embellishments and trills, Brown shows how Czerny's own approach changed over time; in fact, Czerny advocated the necessity of adapting performance practice to contemporary taste, and it is precisely on these grounds that his suggestions may inspire present-day musicians.

Barry Cooper explores the interrelation of technological evolution and notational habits with respect to pedalling and pedal marks. Drawing on work carried out with Chi-fang Cheng, he presents a review of various open issues surrounding this challenging topic. Given that pedal marks are scarce in Beethoven's early works, the question is, what was the common practice at the time? What did Beethoven not bother to write down, assuming that the performer would know where to use the pedal? Cooper considers the rapid changes in instrument building, the scarcity of contemporary sources describing

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a standard practice, and the suitability of later sources as insights into pedalling in Beethoven's time.

One pivotal example of unwritten piano performance practice is the arpeggiation of chords, which Anselm Gerhard addressed in articles about implicit arpeggiation in the nineteenth century in previous volumes of the HKB series.[1] Here, Neal Peres Da Costa reviews the evidence for arpeggiation in the Classical repertoire. His contribution encourages modern performers to make use of their artistic creativity and experiment with this deeply rooted practice, which was all but universal until well into the twentieth century.

A notational habit that is quite unique to Beethoven is his tied-note notation with a change of fingering between the two notes; there is no known performance-practice source that explains the meaning of this notation. Siân Derry suggests that this notation was inspired not by keyboard practice (specifically, clavichord playing) but by string practice, citing passages of string tremolo from a diverse array of composers from François Couperin to Christoph Willibald Gluck. Beethoven would have been particularly acquainted with Gluck's notation, which he encountered when playing viola in the Bonn court orchestra.

Marten Noorduin also addresses questions of score interpretation, examining the precise meaning and scope of expressive indications such as *dolce*, *cantabile* and *espressivo*. Beethoven appears to have been remarkably consistent in his use of these marks; thus, attempting to decipher them can enrich the interpretative lexicon of the historically informed performer.

Yew Choong Cheong devotes his article to dynamic markings, accents and hairpins. The cases presented are numerous, as are the range of possible interpretations. It is noteworthy that many dynamic markings imply agogic effects as well, a phenomenon which has also been identified in studies of the music of Schubert, among others.

Leonardo Miucci focuses on Beethoven's early compositional and notational styles. The three Piano Quartets WoO 36 composed in Bonn in 1785 serve as a case study. These works show a strong relation with Mozart's violin sonatas and with the eighteenth-century notational mindset. Beethoven's notation of rubato, staccato expressed with dots and strokes and other aspects of performance practice show a strong connection with the eighteenth-century musical world, which exerts less influence over Beethoven's works after his first experiences in the Viennese style.

1 See e.g. Anselm Gerhard: "You do it!" Weitere Belege für das willkürliche Arpeggieren in der klassisch-romantischen Klaviermusik, in: *Zwischen schöpferischer Individualität und künstlerischer Selbstverleugnung. Zur musikalischen Aufführungspraxis im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Roman Brotbeck and Anselm Gerhard (Musikforschung der Hochschule der Künste Bern, Vol. 2), Schliengen 2009, pp. 159–168.

Sometimes a single source may reveal unique details about the performance and reception of Beethoven's works. Furthermore, exploring the interrelationship of the compositional and publication processes can reveal other precious information concerning the interpretation of this music as well. Sandra Rosenblum describes two such sources for the Quintet Op. 16: a copy of the Simrock 1802 edition and a first edition from Mollo. The Simrock 1802 edition was used by Aristide Farrenc as a guide for the engraver of his own edition published between 1831 and 1836; the Mollo edition was owned by a certain "AHL", who can be inferred to have been a skilled amateur, judging from his handwritten inserts, which were intended to enhance the virtuosity of the piano part.

Susanne Cox explores the definition of a category of Beethoven manuscripts called 'concepts'. The term, used by Beethoven himself, denotes an intermediate stage between sketches and the final score. Only few concept scores have survived, and most of them are incomplete. Among these are scores for Op. 101, Op. 111 and Op. 126 No. 2. A list of all surviving concepts is provided at the conclusion of the article.

Mario Aschauer recently published a modern edition of all variations published by Diabelli on his famous theme. In his article, he draws upon this experience to reconsider philological questions about the sources for Beethoven's Op. 120, the other variations, and Diabelli's waltz itself.

In Roberto Scoccimarro's contribution, we dig even deeper into philological aspects of Beethoven's works. Examining the intricate situation of the autograph sources for Op. 106, for which numerous sketches but no full score is preserved, Scoccimarro highlights some tendencies in the variants that depict Beethoven's compositional struggle with the fugue. These findings in turn make it possible to propose a new chronological order for some of the sketches.

Claudio Bacciagaluppi traces the presence of Beethoven's piano works in the catalogues of Hans Georg Nägeli, the first publisher of his Sonatas Op. 31. Nägeli's belief in a cultural mission embedded in his profession as music publisher inspired the remarkable series, the "Répertoire des clavecinistes". Nägeli also had a unique position as a mediator between the German and the French markets.

No other moment in history witnessed such a rapid evolution in piano construction as Beethoven's time. It is therefore essential to understand the relationships between the types of instruments to which Beethoven had access and how they influenced his aesthetic and notational attitudes.

With great erudition, Michael Ladenburger describes the astonishingly vast panoply of different keyboard instruments Beethoven was known to have encountered in his youth in Bonn as well as others that he may have known or experienced. He had many opportunities to try new instruments, such as his time spent with the family of Johann

Gottfried von Mastiaux, who had an impressive array of instruments, and through the network of his own mentor Christian Gottlob Neefe.

In his early works, Beethoven may have had a device in mind that was sometimes found on Viennese pianos: the divided knee lever, with which the performer can lift the dampers either from only the upper half of the keyboard or from the whole range of the instrument. Tilman Skowroneck describes this mechanism and shows numerous passages in which the device may be advantageously applied as well as one instance – in the *Waldstein* Sonata – where Beethoven explicitly warned players not to use it.

Robert Adelson examines the bookkeeping practices of the Érard firm in order to address the question of whether or not the piano Beethoven received in 1803 from the Paris firm was a gift. Although some researchers had speculated that Beethoven had merely not paid for the instrument, through a comparison of similar bookkeeping entries, Adelson concludes that the Érard firm had in fact fully intended to offer Beethoven the piano as a gift. Given that the Érard firm presented pianos on several occasions to composers they had under contract, the 1803 gift may be directly connected to the Paris publication of the *Pathétique* Sonata in 1801.

The *Waldstein* Sonata Op. 53 is Beethoven's first piano work written after the arrival of his new Érard piano in summer 1803 and uses at least part of its extended keyboard range. Martin Skamletz looks at the influence of instrumental development on compositional structure and finds a prefiguration of Op. 53's transgression of the traditional boundaries of the keyboard in the Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3 and the *Gassenhauer* Piano Trio Op. 11.

The present collection of essays was inspired by a conference organised in November 2020 by the Hochschule der Künste Bern together with the Conservatorio della Svizzera Italiana in Lugano under the patronage of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn and the Italian Musicological Society, and funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF),[2] which also supported this publication. Our thanks go to all the authors who contributed to this volume, and to Dalyn Cook for proofreading the English texts.

Leonardo Miucci
Claudio Bacciagaluppi
Daniel Allenbach
Martin Skamletz

2 See www.hkb-interpretation.ch/beethoven2020 (last accessed 29 October 2022). On this occasion, we would like to express our sincere thanks to all organisers and participants, in particular to Radio Svizzera di lingua italiana and Giuseppe Clericetti, who supported the conference and helped spread interest in its main themes beyond the core audience.

NOTATION AND PERFORMANCE

Clive Brown

Czerny the Progressive

In January 1846 after a performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Trio Op. 97 in Leopold Jansa's chamber music series, a reviewer (signing himself Philokales) mused upon the problem of interpretation. He observed:

> "[…] the performance of Beethoven's works gives rise to such completely opposing views, that at the present day every individual musician has a different opinion about the solution of this disagreement, which he tries, as best he can, to resolve. So, I believe, one can only ever speak about an approximately correct interpretation of a piece of music, (particularly one of Beethoven's, almost all of which rise so immeasurably far above everything of the same kind that previously existed). And it is precisely here, in my opinion, that the artists who come nearest to the ideal, are those whose way of performing any composition is based as closely as possible on the creator's tradition for this particular composition."[1]

The occasion for his rumination was a last-minute change in personnel. Carl Czerny was to have played, but was indisposed, and Carl Maria von Bocklet substituted for him.[2] The disappointed reviewer regretted the substitution, because, as he noted in a subsequent article, "it is really a very long time since Czerny last appeared publicly as a pianist";[3] and he explained that "it would have been of the greatest interest to any real musician to hear the aforementioned B♭ major trio by Czerny, the only living pupil of the great Beethoven."[4] He was convinced that Czerny was one of those artists for whom the "inherited

1 "[…] namentlich ist es der Vortrag Beethoven'scher Tonwerke, über welchen so ganz entgegengesetzte Ansichten obwalten, daß bis zur Stunde jeder einzelne Musiker eine von den Übrigen seines Gleichen wesentlich verschiedene Meinung bezüglich der Lösung dieser Streitfrage aufstellt und so gut als es in seinen Kräften steht, vertritt. Es kann also, wie ich glaube, immer nur von einer approximativ-richtigen Auffassung eines Tonwerkes (und namentlich eines Beethoven'schen von denen fast jedes Einzelne sich so unendlich weit über Alles in derselben Art früher Dagewesene erhebt) die Rede sein. Und eben da kommen, meines Dafürhaltens, diejenigen Künstler dem Ideale noch am nächsten, deren Vortragsweise irgend einer Composition sich auf die möglichst genaue Tradition des Schöpfers eben dieser Composition stützt." Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée des Hrn. Jansa, am 18. Jänner 1846, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 34. All translations by the present author, if not otherwise stated.

2 The reviewer later learned, as he explained in a subsequent article, that Bocklet had played the work for Beethoven in the 1820s, apparently to the latter's satisfaction (though of course Beethoven's deafness was by then almost total), but he remained disappointed not to have heard Czerny. See Philokales: Erklärung, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 56.

3 "[…] es ist wirklich sehr lange her, seit Czerny zum letzten Male öffentlich als Clavierspieler auftrat". Ibid.

4 "[…] wäre es auch für jeden echten Musiker von dem höchsten Interesse gewesen, das genannte B-dur-Trio von Czerny, dem einzigen noch lebenden Schüler des großen Beethoven vortragen zu hören". Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée, p. 34.

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'spiritual legacy' is holy, thus they hold true to it and pass it on entirely unchanged to the worthier chosen few."[5]

Although Beethoven's own performances, or those given under his aegis, must still have been part of the experience of many older Viennese musicians, it is not surprising that ways of performing his works had changed significantly within such a short time of his death. Richard Barth had similarly lamented how, some twenty years after Johannes Brahms's death, people had already lost respect for the "incontrovertible tradition" of performing his music, which Barth, like the reviewer of Jansa's concert, considered essential "if a performance that is faithful to its content is to be achieved."[6]

But was the reviewer correct in believing that Czerny would have played the Trio just as Beethoven wanted it? Superficially, it seems clear that Czerny was the last surviving member of Beethoven's intimate circle who could claim to know authoritatively how Beethoven expected his piano compositions to be played;[7] he had remained in close contact with his former master until his death in 1827, and he was one of the three musicians who oversaw the production of the collected edition of Beethoven's works that was announced by Tobias Haslinger in December 1828. The announcement stated that:

> "The editing for tempo terms, corrections, performance nuances and, in general, all necessary revisions etc. was done by the artistic colleagues and friends of the deceased, who were so deeply initiated into Beethoven's works, Messers Carl Czerny, Ignaz Schuppanzigh, and Carl Holz, out of love and admiration for the deceased master, and as a special courtesy to the publisher, with friendly willingness."[8]

Schuppanzigh died in 1830 and it is unclear how much input he may have had; Holz had been involved only as second violin in performances of the late string quartets and his role in the project remains obscure. Czerny, however, contributed extensively, particularly

5 "Dieses von einem vielleicht schon lange Verklärten überkommene 'geistige Vermächtniß' ist ihnen heilig, eben darum bewahren sie es treu, und theilen es dem Würdigeren, Auserwählten auch völlig unversehrt mit." Ibid., p. 34.

6 "[…] es müßte eine unanfechtbare Tradition kräftiger fortwirken können, […] wenn es zu einer inhaltsgetreuen Wiedergabe gelangen soll." Kurt Hoffmann: *Johannes Brahms in den Erinnerungen von Richard Barth*, Hamburg 1979, p. 31.

7 Anton Schindler was primarily a violinist, and his claims to have learned some of Beethoven's piano sonatas under Beethoven's tuition are not entirely trustworthy.

8 "Die Redaction für Tempo-Bezeichnungen, Correcturen, Vortrags-Nuancen und überhaupt alle erforderlichen Revisionen etc. haben die so sehr in Beethoven's Werke eingeweihten Kunstgenossen, und des Verstorbenen Freunde, die Herrn Carl Czerny, Ignaz Schuppanzigh und Carl Holz, aus Liebe und Verehrung für den verblichenen Tonmeister, und aus besonderer Gefälligkeit für die Verlagshandlung mit freundlicher Bereitwilligkeit übernommen." Tobias Haslinger: Pränumerations-Ankündigung. Sämtliche Werke von Ludw. van Beethoven, in: Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1828, p. [445].

through the addition of metronome marks for the many piano works for which Beethoven had not provided them; though to what extent his own preference, rather than his memory of Beethoven's practice, was involved in the process remains uncertain.[9]

Czerny's closeness to Beethoven, and his extraordinary musical abilities, have tended to encourage confidence in him as a reliable source of information about Beethoven's expectations for the performance of his music. But despite his obvious reverence for Beethoven's works, closer scrutiny suggests that he adopted a progressive rather than curatorial position towards them: perhaps his concern was not with preserving the relationship between Beethoven's notation and the performing practices the composer expected it to convey to the musicians with whom he had worked; perhaps Czerny preferred to ensure that the music should speak to his contemporaries in a language that conformed to their notions of good taste. There has been stimulating discussion of these issues by a number of scholars of performing practice in recent decades.[10] The present article revisits them in the light of three sources that have not, to my knowledge, been drawn upon previously: Czerny's edition of an earlier treatise, the *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.ᵈ Müller [...] Achte Auflage mit vielen neuen Beyspielen und einem vollständigern Anhange vom Generalbass versehen von Carl Czerny*, published around 1830, and two transcriptions by Czerny of Beethoven's Violin Sonata Op. 47. The first of the transcriptions, for solo piano, is the Andante con variazioni, published as *Variations brillantes tirées de l'Oeuvre 47 de Louis van Beethoven arrangées pour le Piano-Forte seul par Charles Czerny*. The second is a transcription of the whole sonata for piano duet. *Grand duo brillant pour le Piano Forte à quatre mains, arrangé d'après la Sonate de L. van Beethoven, Oeuv. 47, par Charles Czerny*. Both title pages give the publisher as A. Diabelli. The first, however, has the plate number C. *et* D. No. 1168 and was presumably engraved before Cappi retired in 1824, when the firm was still Cappi & Diabelli; the second has the plate number D. *et* C. No. 1212, and was presumably engraved quite soon after the first. Both were certainly published in Beethoven's lifetime.

Czerny's changing attitude towards the performance of Beethoven's compositions is clearly indicated in the introduction to his survey of all Beethoven's works with piano in *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen* (*The Art of Performing the Old and New Piano Compositions*), which was published in 1846, shortly after the review of

9 For a summary of the principles behind Beethoven's choice of metronome marks, see Clive Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford 1999, pp. 299–302.

10 Especially in *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity. Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester 2008, see e.g. the articles by George Barth: Carl Czerny and Musical Authority. Locating the "Primary Vessel" of the Musical Tradition, pp. 125–138, and James Parakilas: Playing Beethoven His Way. Czerny and the Canonization of Performance Practice, pp. 108–124.

Jansa's concert (and perhaps partly in response to it), as the fourth volume of his 1839 *Pianoforte-Schule*. In *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, he discussed the music of his younger contemporaries, including Sigismond Thalberg, Frédéric Chopin, and Franz Liszt, in a way that shows his active engagement with the newest developments in piano playing and piano construction; and it is in that context that his discussion of Beethoven's piano music is situated. He made it clear not only that the latest technical accomplishments were necessary in Beethoven performance, but also that unspecified practices, which had been current in the first three decades of the century, were no longer appropriate, commenting:

> "[...] even if it were possible to reproduce his [Beethoven's] way of playing exactly, it could not (in relation to current levels of skill with respect to clarity and precision in difficult passages) always act as a model; and even the spiritual conception has acquired a different validity through the changed taste of the times, and must sometimes be expressed by other means than were necessary then."[11]

In fact, Czerny's career reveals a complex individual, perhaps even a split personality. On the one hand, he kept abreast of changing taste and fashion in the bulk of his own published works, which reached Op. 861, tailoring his choice of genres and styles to the popular market, both in his compositions and in his numerous didactic publications; on the other hand, he continued to compose works in entirely different genres and a much more serious, conservative idiom, including symphonies, string quartets, and masses, most of which he did not publish, and many of which were probably never publicly performed. Among his published compositions, only a very small proportion had pretensions to be serious music. It is undoubtedly significant that the first nine of his eleven published piano sonatas, three of four piano trios, and a piano quartet were all composed and published before 1830, while he was still to some extent under Beethoven's direct influence.

Czerny's immense productivity owed its origin to several factors. It was made possible by his extraordinary musical abilities, which evidently allowed him to compose with exceptional fluency and ease. It was necessitated by his relatively impoverished background and his relationship, as an only child, with his mother and father, with whom he lived until their deaths. Czerny never held an official post that would have provided a regular income, but his success as a teacher and composer enabled the family to live in

11 "[...] wenn es auch möglich wäre, seine Spielweise ganz genau wiederzugeben, so könnte sie, (in Bezug auf die jetzt ganz anders ausgebildete Reinheit und Deutlichkeit bei Schwierigkeiten) uns nicht immer als Muster dienen; und selbst die geistige Auffassung erhält durch den veränderten Zeitgeschmack eine and're Geltung, und muss bisweilen durch and're Mittel ausgedrückt werden, als damals erforderlich waren." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, Vienna [1846], p. 34, §7.

increasingly affluent circumstances. He already told Mendelssohn in 1830 that he was "composing a lot now, for it brings in more than giving lessons",[12] and the commercial success of his publications allowed him to give up piano teaching entirely a few years later. As Philokales's 1846 article indicates, he also retired from public performance.

To understand Czerny's role as a transmitter of knowledge about Beethoven's expectations for the performance of his music, it is important also to understand Czerny's own approach to writing music. It seems clear that, rightly or wrongly, he increasingly doubted his own capacity to be a successful composer of music in the established classical forms, and came to the conclusion that works of this kind – which he nevertheless felt impelled to write, but made no effort to publish – did not, for all their refinement, charm, and integrity, contain sufficient power and originality to compete with the best works of his contemporaries, and perhaps also to reach the standards of his greatest predecessors. This can only have been strengthened by negative reviews, such as one of a new overture, in which the reviewer remarked:

> "The author is currently *en vogue* as a piano composer, and not wrongly. Here, however, he has denied his independence and endeavoured to compose in Beethoven's style; to what extent this succeeded, or could succeed, its reception must have taught him. Writing in four parts presupposes a deeper, experience-based knowledge of the instrumental effect."[13]

At the time of Beethoven's death, Czerny had still not chosen the path that would dominate the rest of his life, but it was already clear that in the traditional genres of composition, he would be measured against Beethoven's achievements and that his productivity was in danger of damaging his reputation as a serious composer. The latter was made explicit in a review of the premiere of his Piano Trio Op. 105,[14] at one of Schuppanzigh's chamber concerts in March 1827. The reviewer observed:

> "It is extremely brilliant because it is very clear, understandable, and unusually grateful for the players; it scarcely needs stating that neither the master nor his two assistants left any desire unsatisfied by

12 "Czerny […] sagt er componire jetzt viel, denn es bringe mehr ein, als Stundengeben". Letter of 22 August 1830 to Mendelssohn's sister Rebecka, in: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: *Briefe*, ed. by Rudolf Elvers, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 119. English translation in *A Life in Letters*, trans. by Craig Tomlinson, New York 1986, p. 132.

13 "Der Verfasser ist gegenwärtig en vogue als Clavier-Componist, und wahrlich nicht mit Unrecht. Hier hat er jedoch seine Selbstständigkeit verleugnet, und in Beethovens Styl zu dichten sich bemüht; in wie fern solches gelang, oder auch nur gelingen konnte, wird ihn wohl der Erfolg gelehrt haben. Der vierstimmige Satz setzt eine tiefere, auf Erfahrung gegründete Kenntniss des Instrumental-Effectes voraus." [Anon]: Wien. Musikalisches Tagebuch vom Monat December, in: *AmZ* 29 (1827), cols. 96–99, here col. 99.

14 The Trio, which was published for piano, violin and horn or cello, was given on this occasion with cello.

their performance. Mr. Carl Czerny is rightly popular and valued, so to speak 'fashionable'. The reviewer himself is one of his warmest admirers; but that is why he is prompted to express a well-intentioned concern. It may well be flattering to be venerated as a fruitful author, just as no sensible person despises the increasing yield of his industry. But whoever shakes the novelties like nuts from the tree, sending some out into the world every month, is playing a game that threatens his reputation; for everything cannot be equally substantial, and even assuming inexhaustible productivity, the public nevertheless becomes lukewarm due to oversaturation, and commodities that are too abundant fall in price."[15]

Czerny's huge, steady stream of pieces produced for the market of his day has often been criticised, not entirely without justification, for being facile; but it was also undoubtedly progressive. His material success depended upon responding to the rapid technological development of the piano, the changes in performing style that this made possible, and the evolution of new genres of composition. He responded inventively and often innovatively to these developments in his own piano works. Not only did he publish many pedagogical works and exercises that were at the cutting edge of developments in piano technique and fashionable taste, he was also among the earliest composers to explore such genres as Impromptu, Nocturne, and various kinds of operatic paraphrase,[16] in which he prefigured and probably influenced Chopin, Thalberg, Liszt, Franz Schubert, and many other pianist composers; furthermore, he was one of the first composers to attempt to specify performance nuances with a vastly increased repertoire of signs and instructions. It may legitimately be doubted whether these were capable of effectively conveying the subtleties of performance he imagined, but his very extensive use of them was certainly innovative. Already in a review of his First Piano Sonata Op. 7, attention had been drawn sceptically to this tendency:

"If Mr. Cz. likes to put the lowest and highest notes together, and, not satisfied with ***ff*** and ***pp***, requires a fortississimo ***fff*** and pianississimo ***ppp***, and uses a really unprecedented number of words

15 "Es ist höchst brillant, dabey sehr klar, verständlich, und für die Spieler ungemein dankbar gehalten; dass sowohl der Meister als seine beyden Assistenten beym Vortrage keinen Wunsch unbefriedigt liessen, bedarf wohl keiner Bekräftigung. Hr. Carl Czerny ist mit Recht allgemein beliebt und geschätzt, so zu sagen: in der Mode. Ref. selbst gehört zu seinen wärmsten Verehrern; darum drängt es ihn aber, eine wohlgemeinte Besorgniss auszusprechen. Wohl mag es schmeichelhaft seyn, als fruchtbringender Autor verehrt zu werden, so wie kein vernünftiger Mensch den sich mehrenden Ertrag seines Fleisses verachtet. Wer aber die Novitäten wie Nüsse vom Baume schüttelt, jeden Monat einige in die Welt schickt, spielt ein seinem Rufe Gefahr drohendes Spiel; denn alles kann ja nicht gleich gehaltvoll seyn, und, selbst ein unversiegbares Productions-Vermögen angenommen, so wird doch das Publikum durch Uebersättigung lau, und allzuhäufige Waaren fallen im Preise." [Anon.] Wien. (Beschluss der vorigen Nummer), in: AmZ 29 (1827), cols. 231–235, here col. 234.

16 See Michael Saffle: Czerny and the Keyboard Fantasy: Traditions, Innovations, Legacy, in: *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester NY 2008, pp. 202–228.

> and signs to denote the expression, these are peculiarities which perhaps in part belong to fashion, but about which neither much good nor much bad can be said."[17]

Beethoven's careful indication of slurring, articulation and dynamics, which was quite untypical of most of his Viennese contemporaries, may have exerted some influence on Czerny's practice, as may Johann Ladislaus Dussek's more extensive employment of expressive instructions, but Czerny went much further in attempting to indicate fine nuances of performance, especially with his notation of accents and dynamics. Beethoven had used only ***sf*** as an accent instruction; his employment of *rinforzando* (generally given as *rinf.*, never abbreviated to ***rf*** in his autographs) is a dynamic indication, and > very rarely occurs in Beethoven's music in contexts where its main function appears to be accent on a single note. Czerny, however, employed a much larger number of accent instructions and signs, perhaps more lavishly than any of his contemporaries. In printed editions, it is difficult to be sure how far the markings correspond with the composer's intentions, since engravers were often careless about which punch they selected for stamping staccato marks or performance instructions onto the plates.[18] In Czerny's case, however, a significant number of corrected proofs survive, which confirm the intentionality of these markings. In his earliest published works, for example Op. 4, he used predominantly ***rf***, ***sf***, ***sff***, and > as accents. In his Piano Sonata Op. 7, he used ***sff*** alongside ***sf***, ***fz***, and ***rfz***. By the early 1820s he was using both ***sf*** and ***fz*** as clearly differentiated accents (e. g. Opp. 39, 42) and the signs >, ^, and ^̣ (Figure 1). Shortly afterwards, he also began using ***ffz*** regularly (e. g. Opp. 57, 68). And by the later 1820s, he employed both ***sff*** and ***ffz*** in the same work. In the Piano Sonata Op. 124 and the three *Grandes fantaisies en forme de Sonata* Opp. 143, 144, 145, ***sff*** occurs alongside ***ffz*** together with ***fz***, ***sf***, and ***rf*** (Figures 2a & b). In later works all these instructions except ***sff***, are employed with evident deliberation (Figure 3).

His repertoire of verbal performance instructions was lavish and inventive, perhaps more so than that of any of his contemporaries. Whereas most earlier composers had scarcely used expressive terms, or used them very infrequently, leaving it to the performer to discern and convey the emotional meaning of the music, Czerny was in the vanguard of composers who sought to influence the performer in ways that were soon to become

17 "Wenn Hr. Cz. gern die tiefsten und höchsten Töne zusammen stellt, mit ***ff*** und ***pp*** nicht zufrieden noch ein fortississimo ***fff*** und pianississimo ***ppp*** verlangt und für die Bezeichnung des Ausdrucks eine wirklich beyspiellose Menge von Worten und Zeichen verbraucht, so sind das Eigenheiten, welche vielleicht zum Theil mit zur Mode gehören, über die sich jedoch weder viel Gutes noch viel Böses sagen lässt." [Anon.]: Recension. Premiere Sonate […], in: *AmZ* 24 (1822), cols. 382–384, here col. 384.

18 In Czerny's *Grande Polonaise Brillante* Op. 118 ***sf*** is used exclusively, but this may well have been the engraver's choice of punch, because ***fz*** is used exclusively in his *Sonate Militaire et Brillante* Op. 119.

Figure 1 Carl Czerny: *Impromptus ou variations brillantes* Op. 36, Vienna [ca 1822], p. 9 and 10

Figure 2a *Grande fantaisie en forme de Sonata* Op. 143, Leipzig [ca 1827], p. 3 (Proof copy corrected by Czerny. University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library)

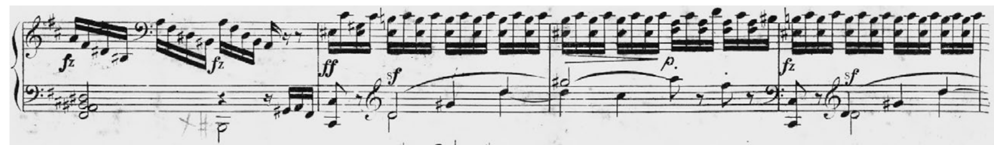


Figure 2b *Grande fantaisie en forme de Sonata* Op. 145, Leipzig [ca 1827], p. 3 (corrected proof, Sibley Music Library)

Figure 3 Huit *Nocturnes Romantiques* Op. 604, No. 1, Mainz [1843], p. 5

commonplace. His terminology encompassed a mixture of familiar and unfamiliar terms, most of which have expressive connotations, and accords well with his own statement that "not only each complete piece, but also each individual part of it, either intrinsically expresses a particular feeling, or at least allows some such to be introduced into it through the performance."[19] The following terms have been found in a limited cross section of his piano works: *accelerando, agitato, animato, brillante, calando, cantando, capriccioso, con affetto, con amore, con anima, con ardore, con bravura, con duolo, con fuoco, con gusto, con tenerezza, delicatamente, delicatissimamente, delicatissimo, dolce, dolce amoroso, dolce armonioso, energico, espressivo, grazioso, impetuoso, innocente, lusingando, marcato, martellato, mesto, molto soave, morendo, patetico, perdendo, pesante, piacevole, poco slentando, piangendo, quiéto, radolcendo, rallentando, ritenuto, serioso, smorzando, sostenuto, stretto, stringendo, teneramente, tranquillo, veloce, vivo*, etc.

All these accent indications and performance instructions are, of course, impressionistic rather than precise. From his usage of them, and on logical grounds, it seems likely that Czerny expected the following hierarchy of accents: ***rf***, ***sf***, ***fz***, ***sff***, ***ffz***; but in his didactic publications he never explained this. It is evident, however, that he intended these accent instructions to represent absolute dynamic levels. How he expected > and ʌ to fit into this scheme is not entirely clear; his *Pianoforte-Schule* of 1839 indicates that he regarded these signs as relative to the prevailing dynamic, for, having illustrated their use in a passage marked ***p***, he explained: "Since the whole passage is to be played *piano*, the notes marked > or ʌ receive a small accent that can approximate to ***mf***, but still ought not to be ***sf***. If the passage were *forte* the accent should naturally be stronger."[20] In the 1846

19 "Nicht nur jedes ganze Tonstück, sondern jede einzelne Stelle drückt entweder wirklich irgend eine bestimmte Empfindung aus, oder erlaubt wenigstens, eine solche durch den Vortrag hineinzulegen." Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 24 § 4.

20 "Da diese ganze Stelle *piano* zu spielen ist, so erhalten die mit > oder ʌ bezeichneten Noten einen kleinen Nachdruck, der ungefähr dem ***mf*** nahe kommen kann, aber noch kein ***sf*** sein darf. Wenn die Stelle *forte* zu spielen wäre, so müsste der Nachdruck natürlicherweise stärker sein." Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 141.

supplement, however, he stated, in relation to his former pupil Liszt's practice, that "the upright sign (^) implies a higher degree of power than the horizontal (>)".[21] Czerny's use of ***rf*** (rinforzando) simply as a light accent on one note corresponds with Johann Friedrich Reichardt's and Ignace Pleyel's earlier practice, and it was later used in this manner by Bocklet's pupil Eduard Marxsen and Marxsen's pupil Brahms. This differs, however, from Beethoven's use of *rinf*, which as in Dussek's practice, and that of other older contemporaries, usually applied to a group of notes, often implying a powerful *crescendo*.[22] In Czerny's *Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, there is no reference to ***rf***, but in the list of instructions in his *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 584, he follows "***sfz***: (sforzando) one note especially strong" with "rinf: (rinforzando) strengthened."[23]

These factors demonstrate Czerny's acute consciousness of, and sensitivity to the developing taste and practices of his time. They indicate that his practices constantly fluctuated in response to these developments. They also provide clues to his changing relationship with Beethoven's works. There can be no doubt about his sincerity in seeking to preserve what he regarded as the 'spiritual conception' of his master's music, but as his comments in 1846 reveal, this was not synonymous with preserving all the specific practices Beethoven had envisaged.[24] The following paragraphs will consider several areas in which Czerny's approach undoubtedly changed over time.

☆

Czerny wrote nothing explicit about the rationale for the metronome marks he provided for all Beethoven's major piano works in the 1828–1832 Haslinger edition and its later revision, in *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, and in a later Simrock edition, many of which differ significantly in the various publications.[25] In the original printing of the Haslinger edition, he undoubtedly supplied the metronome marks for the piano sonatas, and perhaps also for the accompanied sonatas, but modified some of them in its revised

21 "Das stehende Zeichen (^) bedeutet einen höhern Grad von Stärke als das liegende (>)". Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 29.

22 See Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 2nd edition (forthcoming).

23 "***sfz*** (sforzando) eine Note besonders stark. / rinf: (rinforzando) verstärkt." Carl Czerny: *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Pianoforte-Schule für Anfänger* Op. 584, Vienna [1840], p. 31.

24 For stimulating and complementary discussion of these issues see James Parakilas: Playing Beethoven His Way, and George Barth: Carl Czerny and Musical Authority.

25 Sandra Rosenblum: Two Sets of Unexplored Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas, in: Early Music 16 (1988), pp. 58–71; Barth: *The Pianist as Orator*, Ithaca/London 1992, pp. 60–62; Marten Noorduin: *Beethoven's Tempo Indications*, PhD diss. University of Manchester, 2016.

printings. The earlier markings (with a few notable exceptions)[26] correspond quite closely with those that would be generated by the remarkably consistent relationship between metre, tempo term, note values, and the quantity of the fastest notes, which underlies Beethoven's own metronome markings.[27] Taken as a whole, the metronome marks in *Die Kunst des Vortrags* show a strong tendency towards slowing tempos from those he had given earlier. In the *Pathétique* Sonata Op. 13, for instance, which Czerny already played to Beethoven before he became his pupil, the tempo was reduced significantly in every movement except the Adagio cantabile: Grave ⅛ = 58 to 1⁄16 = 92 (⅛ = 46); Allegro molto e con brio ½ = 152 to ½ = 144; Allegro ½ = 112 to ½ = 96. Many Andantes and a few Adagios were also slowed significantly. The Andante of Op. 28, which Czerny stated that he had studied with Beethoven, was reduced from ⅛ = 92 to ⅛ = 84, that of Op. 14 No. 2 from ½ = 66 (¼ = 132) to ¼ = 116, of Op. 27 No. 1 from ¼ = 72 to ¼ = 66, and the Andante molto cantabile ed espressivo of Op. 109 from ¼ = 72 to ¼ = 63. While the slowing down of fast movements might be seen as a response to the heavier and deeper key action of the later pianos, his similar treatment of slower movements cannot reasonably be explained by that factor.

In *Die Kunst des Vortrags* Czerny instructed, as "a universal rule", in especially large type: "In the performance of his [Beethoven's] works (and overall those of all classical authors) the player ought absolutely not to permit himself any change to the composition, any addition, any abbreviation."[28] This was certainly not the practice of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, nor had the first two of these injunctions been Czerny's own practice during Beethoven's lifetime; but by the 1840s extemporary elaboration or embellishment of a musical text had been gradually reduced from its heights in the mid eighteenth century to ever more limited circumstances. It survived longest in vocal music, especially opera, but was still not unthinkable in instrumental music in the mid nineteenth century. Charles de Bériot, discussing *fioriture* in his 1858 *Méthode de violon*, recognised the increasing limitation of embellishment, but not its total exclusion, remarking that "all melody that contains a very pronounced sentiment, whether profound, solemn, or serious, and of which the accompaniment produces complicated harmony,

26 For instance, the first movement of the Violin Sonata Op. 23. See Clive Brown: Early Performing Editions and Historical Metronome Marks, in: *Beethoven Violin Sonatas* I, ed. by Clive Brown, Kassel 2020, pp. 127–134, here p. 132.

27 See Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, pp. 299 ff., and the discussion of metronome marks for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas in Brown: Early Performing Editions and Historical Metronome Marks, pp. 127–134.

28 "[…] ist es nöthig eine allgemeine Regel festzusetzen. Beim Vortrage seiner Werke, (und überhaupt bei allen klassischen Autoren) darf der Spieler sich durchaus keine Änderung der Composition, keinen Zusatz, keine Abkürzung erlauben." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 34.

partially excludes any kind of ornamentation." And he noted that "German music, more bound by harmony than Italian music, lends itself less to embellishment. In proportion as this harmonic complexity has won over all the modern schools, ornamentation has become rarer".[29]

There is significant evidence to demonstrate that, before 1830, Czerny regarded embellishment of the notated text, in specific circumstances, as both legitimate and tasteful. An often-mentioned incident, assigned by Czerny himself to "about 1812" in his account of it (published in 1845), but probably referring to a performance in February 1816, was his embellishment of the piano part of Beethoven's Quintet for Piano and Winds Op. 16, involving, among other things, passagework that was more virtuoso than the original, and transposing passages up an octave. He attributed his treatment of the piece to "the frivolity of youth" and recalled Beethoven's censure. It seems clear, however, that Beethoven's annoyance concerned the nature of the changes rather than the presence of ornamentation as such, for it is scarcely credible that Czerny, after more than a decade of Beethoven's tuition and guidance, and knowing his temper, would have dared to make any embellishment of the text at all, if he believed that Beethoven expected none. In other words, he simply went too far on that occasion. His final comment, that Beethoven's reaction "cured my addiction to allowing myself to make changes in performing his music, and I wish it would have the same influence on all pianists",[30] indicates both that Czerny often made extemporary embellishments at that time, and that the practice was still current in 1840s Vienna.

The anecdote is also at odds with Czerny's edition of August Eberhard Müller's widely admired method of 1804. Czerny made very many alterations to Müller's text, and included much additional material.[31] Having explained his amendments with regard to

29 "Mais toute mélodie qui porte en elle un sentiment bien arrêté, soit profond, grave ou sérieux, celle qui fait avec son accompagnement de l'harmonie compliquée exclut, en partie, toute espèce d'ornementation. De là vient que la musique allemande plus serrée d'harmonie que la musique italienne se prête moins à la fioriture. A mesure que cette complication harmonique a gagné toutes les écoles modernes, l'ornementation est devenue plus rare". Charles de Bériot: *Méthode de violon* Op. 102, Paris/Mainz [1858], Vol. 3, p. 189.

30 "[...] erlaubte ich mir im jugendlichen Leichtsinn manche Änderungen [...]. Dieser Brief hat mich mehr als alles Andere von der Sucht geheilt, beim Vortrag seiner Werke mir irgend eine Änderung zu erlauben, und ich wünsche, daß er auf alle Pianisten von gleichem Einfluß wäre." Carl Czerny: Carl Czerny über sein Verhältnis zu Beethoven vom Jahre 1801 bis 1826, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 5 (1845), pp. 449 f.

31 Müller's treatise was nominally the sixth edition of Georg Simon Löhlein's 1773 treatise, but was in fact an entirely new treatise, hence its full title: August Eberhard Müller: G. S. Löhleins *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavier- und Fortepiano-Spiel nebst vielen praktischen Beyspielen, und einem Anhange vom Generalbasse. Sechste Auflage, ganz umgearbeitet und sehr vermehrt*, Jena 1804.

fingering and other aspects of technique in his preface to the new edition, Czerny continued: "Likewise, in the chapter on ornamentation and performance style, the changed and, I believe, very refined taste of our time had to be taken into account".[32] In that chapter he included many additions and removed many parts of Müller's original, but he made only minor changes to Müller's introductory paragraph on "Discretionary embellishments" (*Willkührliche Verzierungen*). Significantly, he retained Müller's statements that the execution of *fioriture* "is left more to the feeling and taste of the player" and that "only those who understand composition and are trained artists are allowed to add anything that is not prescribed."[33] Even more telling was his retention of a passage discussing the distinction between 'correct' and 'beautiful' performance, which stated that the pupil must:

> "a) be able to play the piece of music exactly as it is written, literally, or with respect to those things that can be determined by notes and other signs: then his performance will be (mechanically) correct. But he must also
> b) understand the character of the piece of music correctly and precisely, enter into the prevailing feeling in it, and be able to modify his playing accordingly [...]: only then does his performance become (aesthetically) beautiful, or, as they say, expressive."[34]

It was generally agreed that 'beautiful performance' could not be taught through verbal descriptions; it could only be effectively learned from emulating good performers, especially great singers.[35] One of the passages from Müller's original text, which Czerny retained, reiterates the traditional wisdom that an accomplished performer was expected to modify the repetition of a phrase or melody. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach had stated in the preface to his *Sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variées*: "When we make a repeat nowadays, and reproduce something, it is indispensable to make changes in it. This is

32 "Eben so mußte in dem Kapitel von den Verzierungen und vom Vortrage der geänderte und, wie ich glaube, wirklich sehr geläuterte Geschmack unsrer Zeit berücksichtigt werden". Carl Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.*[d] *Müller [...] Achte Auflage mit vielen neuen Beyspielen und einem vollständigern Anhange vom Generalbass versehen*, Leipzig [ca 1830], p. IV.

33 "[...] deren Ausführung mehr dem Gefühl und Geschmack des Spielers überlassen ist. [...] Nicht-Vorgeschriebene anzubringen, ist nur dem erlaubt, der Composition versteht und schon für die Kunst ausgebildet ist." Ibid., p. 227 f. See also Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, p. 45 f.

34 "Er muß demnach: a) das Musikstück genau so spielen können, wie es geschrieben ist in Absicht auf den Buchstaben, oder in Absicht auf das, was durch Noten und andere Zeichen bestimmt vorgeschrieben werden kann: dann wird sein Vortrag (mechanisch-) richtig seyn. Er muß aber auch b) den Charakter, den das Musikstück hat, richtig und genau auffassen, sich selbst in die darin herrschende Empfindung versetzen, und dieser gemäß sein Spiel modifizieren können [...]: dann erst wird sein Vortrag (ästhetisch-) schön, oder, wie man auch sagt, ausdrucksvoll." Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.*[d] *Müller*, p. 229 f.

35 This was explicitly stated both by Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung*, p. 417, and Louis Spohr: *Violinschule*, Vienna 1833, p. 196.

expected of all those who are charged with the execution of a work."[36] That attitude certainly remained current into the nineteenth century. Czerny's edition states:

> "For this purpose, it will be very beneficial if the teacher plays to the student the pieces, which he is to learn, or – for the sake of mechanically correct playing – has already learned; not only with regard to its character as a whole, but also to draw his attention to details, by which it can be made so much more beautiful. – Thus, he can show him, for example (assuming knowledge of the rules of harmony!), when to decorate one and the same melodic passage, especially when it is frequently repeated, with free ornamentation or to alter it in various ways, partly to avoid monotony and partly, in this manner, to make the passage pleasanter and more distinctive for the listener".[37]

That Czerny's retention of this statement was intentional, is demonstrated by the two transcriptions of Beethoven's *Kreutzer* Sonata Op. 47, which Czerny had made and published in the early to mid 1820s. Clear examples of Czerny's embellishment of repetitions are provided by his treatment of Variation 2 in the Andante (Figures 4a/b). Another similar instance occurs in the first movement, where the violin's accompaniment to the second part of the lyrical theme at bars 107–116 and 428–437, which is a simple transposition in Beethoven's original, receives different treatment on its return (Figure 5). Elsewhere, too, Czerny introduced additional embellishment.

Among the other 'additions' to Beethoven's text that Czerny allowed himself in his transcriptions of Op. 47, was a cadenza or *Eingang* at the fermatas in bar 196 of the Andante. Curiously, perhaps, he did not supply an elaboration of the fermata at bar 27 of the first movement, where George Bridgetower is known to have made one (to Beethoven's delight),[38] but both his 1820s transcriptions of the Sonata contain cadenzas in the Andante: a different one in each (Figures 6a, b & c). It seems very likely therefore that Beethoven envisaged embellishment of these fermatas; it is even possible, since there are two fermatas in bar 196, that he envisaged cadenzas for violin as well as piano. In both

36 "Dès qu'on se répéte aujourd'hui, & qu'on reproduit une chose, il est indispensable d'y faire des changemens. C'est ce qu'on attend de tous ceux qui sont chargés de l'exécution de quelque Ouvrage." Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variées*, Berlin 1760, Préface.

37 "Zu dem Ende wird es sehr vortheilhaft seyn, daß der Lehrer auch die Musikstücke, die der Schüler unter seiner Leitung erlernen soll oder auch – in Absicht auf das Mechanisch-richtige – schon erlernt hat, diesem vorspiele, und ihn, nicht nur auf den Charakter des Ganzen, sondern auch auf Einzelnheiten, wodurch dieser um so schöner wiedergegeben werden könne, aufmerksam mache. – So zeige er ihm, wie man z. B. (Kenntniß der Regeln der Harmonie vorausgesetzt!) eine und eben dieselbe melodiöse Stelle zur rechten Zeit, besonders wenn sie öfter wiederkehrt, durch eine freye Verzierung schmücken, auf mancherley Weise verändern könne, theils um Monotonie zu vermeiden, theils die Stelle auf solche Art dem Zuhörer noch angenehmer und auch eindringlicher zu machen". Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.[d] Müller*, p. 234 (this passage was retained from the 1804 edition).

38 For a full account of this see *Beethoven Violin Sonatas*, ed. by Clive Brown, Vol. 2, pp. VI–VII (Introduction) = pp. XLI–XLII (Einführung).

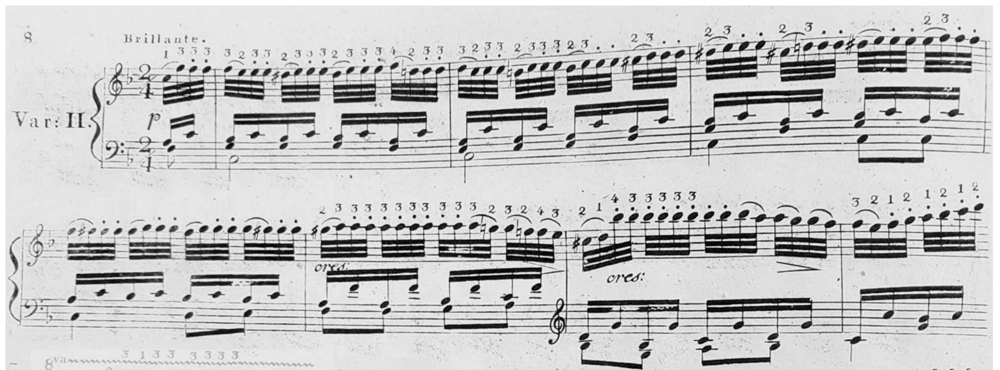


FIGURE 4A Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47, Andante con variazioni, Variation 2, bars 1–7
Above: first edition violin part (Vienna [1805])
Middle: piano solo transcription: Carl Czerny: *Variations brillantes*, Vienna [ca 1824]
Below: piano duet transcription (primo): Carl Czerny: *Grand duo brillant*, Vienna [ca 1824]
(© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

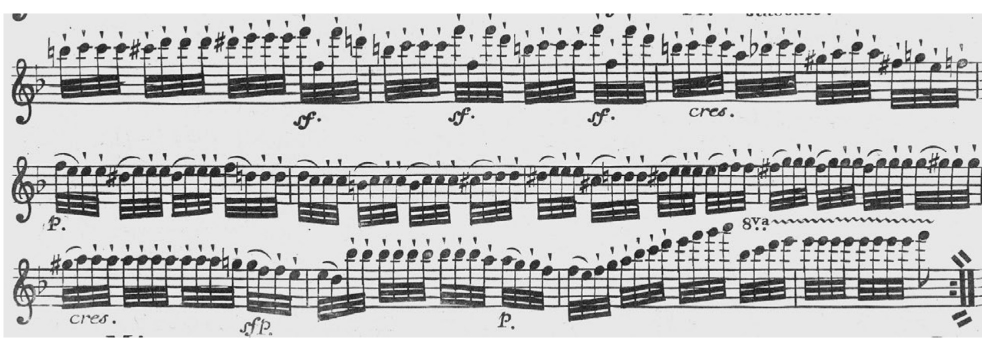


FIGURE 4B Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47,
Andante con variazioni, Variation 2, bars 19–27
Above: first edition violin part
Middle: piano solo transcription
Below: piano duet transcription (primo)
(© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

FIGURE 5 Czerny: *Grand duo brillant*, first movement (Adagio sostenuto – Presto) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)
Above: bars 107–116 (primo)
Below: bars 428–437 (primo)

his transcriptions Czerny omitted Beethoven's arpeggio on the dominant chord of C major, replacing it in the piano solo transcription with an extended version of the arpeggio followed by rapid scales, while in the piano duet transcription he may have imagined a longer violin cadenza, since this is written entirely in the treble register, beginning from the violin's trilled f5. In both transcriptions, Czerny also altered the preceding violin melody, apparently imitating the use of portamento by the violinist in the upbeats to bars 194 and 196; and in the duet transcription he added further ornamentation to the violin's melody.

Another contradiction in Czerny's teaching is his treatment of trills. In his edition of Müller's treatise, he retained, unaltered, the discussion of ornaments indicated by small notes, merely adding a couple of footnotes suggesting that some of them were better indicated by full-size notes; but he made several changes in the section on ornaments indicated by signs. Müller began by discussing the trill and followed it with his consideration of other ornaments; Czerny reversed this order, giving much more attention to the *Pralltriller*[39] and the *Doppelschlag* (for which he prefers the term *Mordent*),[40] and he omits discussion of Müller's *Mordent* and *Battement*, which he remarks in parentheses are "already out-of-date and no longer used at all in modern compositions."[41] In their

39 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.d Müller*, p. 218; Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, p. 41. Czerny equates this ornament with the Schneller, indicated by small notes before the main note, whereas Müller realised the ornament designated by a sign differently from the one designated by small notes.

40 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.d Müller*, pp. 218–222; Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, pp. 43 f.

41 "[…] bereits veraltet, und in neuen Compositionen gar nicht gebraucht." Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.d Müller*, p. 217.

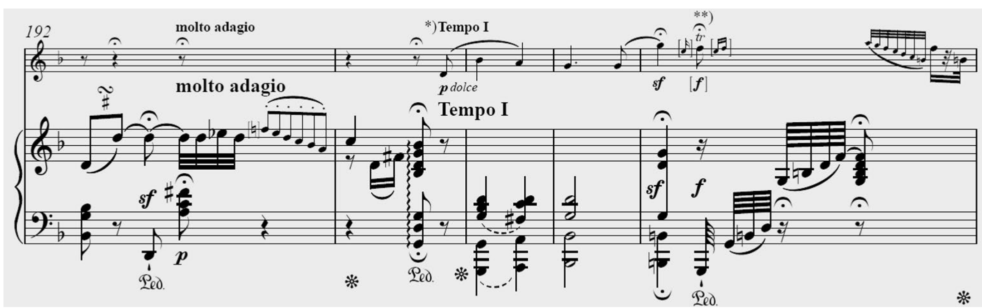


Figure 6a Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47 (ed. by Clive Brown), Kassel 2020, Andante con variazioni, bars 192–196

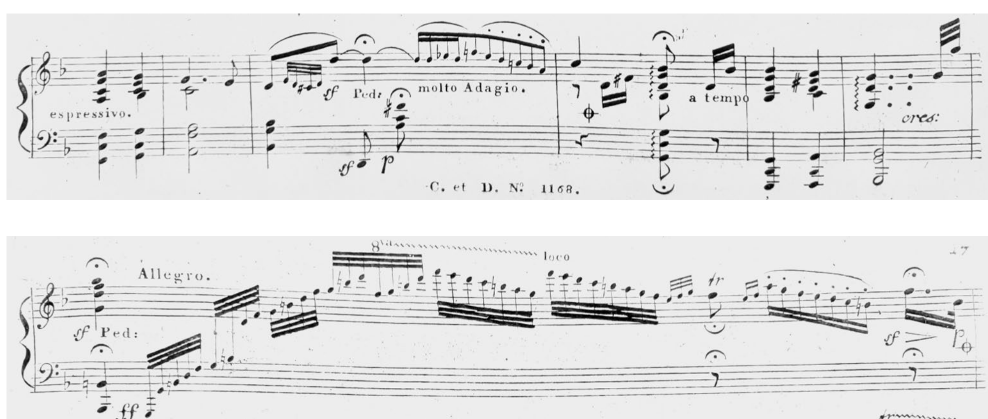


Figure 6b Czerny piano solo transcription, bars 190–196

Figure 6c Czerny piano duet transcription, bars 190–196 (primo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

treatment of the trill, there are significant differences. Czerny, for instance retained the introductory paragraph almost unaltered except that where Müller wrote: "its execution begins always with the higher of the two notes (the auxiliary)",[42] Czerny substituted "its execution begins normally, as a rule, with the higher of the two notes (the auxiliary)", adding: "But it can also begin with the lower and occasionally with the addition of an even lower note".[43] Both editions began with the same example ("Erstes Beyspiel"), but Czerny added two new ones (Figure 7). All Czerny's subsequent music examples show an upper-note start except one: a chain of descending trills, which like the earlier example involves the trill being preceded by a main note one step higher.[44]

FIGURE 7 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.*[d] *Müller*, p. 222

While, in this treatise, Czerny cautiously indicates the possibility of beginning a trill with the main note, he takes a very different stance in his 1839 *Pianoforte-Schule*. Here he begins with examples of trills starting on the main note, before instructing, with self-explanatory music examples:

> "The trill can begin in three ways, i.e.:
> a) With the main note. This happens if the trill is preceded either by no note or by one that is different from the main note, and therefore on another key.

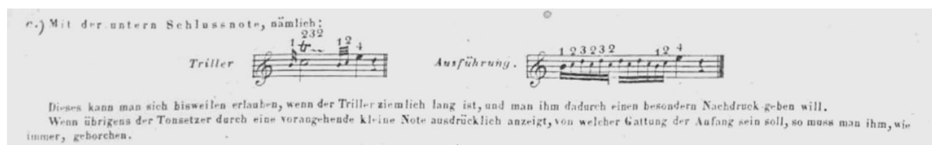
42 "[…] seine Ausführung fängt allezeit mit dem höher liegenden von beyden Tönen (Hülfsnote) an". Müller: G. S. Löhleins *Klavierschule*, p. 38 f.

43 "Seine Ausführung fängt in der Regel gewöhnlich mit dem höher liegenden von den beyden Tönen (Hülfsnote) an. Doch kann er auch mit dem tiefern anfangen, und bisweilen sogar mit dem Zusatz eines noch tiefer liegenden Tons". Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.*[d] *Müller*, p. 222.

44 Ibid., p. 224.

b) With the auxiliary. This must happen when the main note of the trill immediately precedes it.

c) With the note below, i. e.:



This can occasionally be allowed if the trill is rather long, and one wants particularly to emphasise it. If the composer specifically shows, with a small note, how it should begin, one must, as always, obey."[45]

In 1839, therefore, Czerny adopted an approach very similar to Johann Nepomuk Hummel in his 1828 *Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel* and Spohr in his 1833 *Violinschule* (both published in Vienna by Haslinger).[46] All of them were probably concerned to emphasise the primacy of precise notation over uncertain and arbitrary practice. Partly in consequence of this concern to encourage notational precision, however, the principles they prescribed were applied retrospectively and inappropriately to earlier repertoire. From the 1830s onwards, it became increasingly common practice to begin trills in Classical repertoire from the main note unless explicitly indicated to the contrary. By the end of the century, many editors of annotated editions provided realisations of trills in Classical repertoire that began with the main note and ended without a concluding turn, where the composer had not specifically indicated one, while theoretical writers like Andreas Moser argued, with no solid evidence beyond Hummel, Spohr, and Czerny, that beginning trills with the main note was typical of Classical Viennese practice;[47] and twentieth-century writers, such as Frederick Neumann, who had grown up in the aftermath of the early twentieth-century stylistic revolution, sought to find historical justification for the practices with which they were familiar and comfortable, such as continuous (essentially post-Kreisler) vibrato and main-note trills, often over-emphasising or even distorting the meaning of sources that they cited to support their predilections.

Czerny's transcriptions of Beethoven's Op. 47 clearly demonstrate that his teaching in 1839 was at odds with his earlier understanding of Beethoven's expectations: his fingerings and annotations make it absolutely clear that he expected the vast majority of trills

45 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 1, pp. 130 f. The Figures themselves give the German original.
46 See Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung*, p. 386; Spohr: *Violinschule*, pp. 154 f.
47 See Joseph Joachim/Andreas Moser: *Violinschule*, Berlin 1905, Vol. 3, p. 20.

to begin with the upper note, in line with the teaching in his edition of Müller's treatise. Before examining this evidence, however, it is appropriate to note that he was in no doubt that (except in a few particular contexts) trills must conclude with a turn (Nachschlag), whether notated or not, commenting in his edition of Müller: "Since the turn rounds off and completes the trill into a whole, it is to be accepted as a rule, according to current taste, and also to be used where the composer failed to indicate it (for the exceptions see below at B)."[48] And in 1839, too, he instructed: "Although these final notes are usually added, they also have to be added where this is not the case."[49] He detailed the few very specific exceptions in both treatises. In this respect his practice and his teaching, along with that of the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries, was consistent.[50]

Czerny's two transcriptions of Op. 47 contain numerous indications of trill beginnings, some of which may seem quite surprising to musicians trained according to twentieth-century aesthetics. In Figure 8a the trill starts with the upper auxiliary despite the octave leap. In Figure 8b, the fingerings indicate upper-auxiliary beginnings for all the trills except the first one in bar 26, which, as in Czerny's illustration of a main-note start in his edition of Müller, is preceded by the note above (Figure 7); and to make his intention clear in this instance, Czerny precedes the trilled note with a grace note on the same pitch. In Figure 8c, in the solo transcription, Czerny gives fingerings for a succession of upper-auxiliary beginnings, even for the trill preceded by the note above; comparison with the duet transcription suggests that he took these upper-auxiliary beginnings for granted. In the duet version, however, he marked the turns, which he had omitted in the other transcription, but not for the trill that is followed by another a step below, which reflects his teaching on successive descending trills.

Figure 9, from one of the most remarkable of his own serious compositions from the mid 1820s, the Piano Sonata No. 6 Op. 124, shows how, at that time, Czerny took upper-auxiliary beginnings for granted, only marking the upper-note start (in the final bar of the example) when an accidental was necessary.

To what extent Czerny's way of playing Beethoven's, or indeed his own music, changed over time is indeterminable, but his pedagogic publications make it clear that his

48 "Da der Nachschlag erst den Triller zu einem Ganzen rundet und abschließt, so ist er, nach dem jetzigen Geschmack, als Regel anzunehmen, und auch da anzuwenden, wo ihn der Componist anzuzeigen unterließ (die Ausnahmen siehe weiter unten bey B)." Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.d Müller*, p. 223.

49 "Obschon man diese Schlussnoten gewöhnlich dazu schreibt, so müssen sie auch da hinzugefügt werden, wo dieses nicht der Fall ist." Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 1, p. 130.

50 I know of no earlier writer who suggested the omission of a turn (*Nachschlag*) where the composer did not mark it (which was very frequent). For examples see Brown: Reading Between the Lines of Beethoven's Notation, in: *Beethoven Violin Sonatas*, Vol. 1, pp. XXIV–XXVI, Vol. 2, pp. XXV–XXVII.

Figure 8a Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47, first movement, bar 221
Left: first edition piano part
Right: Czerny piano duet transcription (secondo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

Figure 8b Czerny piano solo transcription, second movement, bars 23–26

Figure 8c Second movement, bars 145–147
Above: Czerny piano solo transcription
Below: Czerny piano duet transcription (primo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

teaching and his published compositions were at the forefront of instrumental developments and aesthetic change. His notion that the 'spiritual conception' of Beethoven's music needed to be expressed through using different performing practices than those of Beethoven's lifetime, corresponds with similar revisionist attitudes expressed by 'progressive' musicians in later generations. Most of Czerny's contemporaries, as well as the majority of later nineteenth-century musicians, showed a marked propensity to prefer new practices over the preservation of old ones. In string playing, for instance, springing bowstrokes, when they were used in 1822 by Joseph Böhm, had astonished a Viennese reviewer, who believed that bowstrokes of this kind "have not until now been used by any

FIGURE 9 Czerny: Piano Sonata No. 6 Op. 124, Paris: Zetter [s. a.], third movement (Allegretto con moto, vivace), bars 156–165

German violinist".[51] At first they were a specific virtuoso effect, but they were gradually adopted in the performance of Classical repertoire. Anton Schindler, who took a much more conservative attitude towards Beethoven performance than Czerny, condemned their employment in Beethoven's music in a series of reviews of chamber concerts in Frankfurt in 1859–1860, asserting that Schuppanzigh never used bowing of this kind. But by the 1880s, the springing bowstroke was already regarded as "an indispensable bowstroke for every violinist", even though "in the old Italian School and particularly in the German up to Louis Spohr, it was employed less. One mostly played the passages that were suitable for this bowstroke with short on-string bowing at the point."[52] By the end of the century, it could be asserted:

> "It ought not always to be seen as a sin against the Holy Ghost if occasionally, even in the works of our Classical masters, at the appropriate place, one sometimes introduces a more modern bowing,

51 "[…] welches bis jetzt noch von keinem deutschen Geiger ausgeübt wird". [Anon.]: Concert-Anzeigen [23. 3. 1822], in: *Wiener Zeitschrift* 7 (1822), pp. 293–296, here p. 293. See also Clive Brown: The Springing Bowstroke in Beethoven's Vienna. Important New Evidence, in: *Beethoven Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin. Performing Practice Commentary*, ed. by Clive Brown and Neal Peres Da Costa, Kassel 2020, pp. 10–20, available at www.baerenreiter.com/en/shop/product/details/BA9014/ (5 February 2022).

52 "[…] eine unentbehrliche Strichart für jeden Geiger […]. In den alten italienischen, besonders in den deutschen Schulen bis zu L[ouis] Spohr, wurde sie weniger angewandt. Man spielte die diesem Striche angemessenen Stellen grösstenteils mit kurzen Strichen im liegenden Bogen an der Spitze." Hermann Schröder: *Die Kunst des Violinspiels. Ein encyklopädisches Handbuch für jeden Violinisten*, Leipzig [1887], p. 72.

> especially when one is convinced that this will be more likely to fulfil the composer's intention than his violin-playing contemporaries could have done."

The author went on to suggest, with reference to Mozart:

> "where light grace and sparkling humour predominate in his works, the Saltato bowstroke, which admittedly was not yet known at this master's time, is nevertheless really good to use, indeed according to our present-day taste, is absolutely indispensable."[53]

Less than a century after Czerny's pronouncements on Beethoven performance in his *Pianoforte-Schule*, Carl Flesch, in *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, was to articulate a comparable distinction between 'spiritual conception' and performing practices in the interpretation of earlier repertoire, asserting: "If we are to recall Spohr's compositions to life again, we must employ present day means of expression in their reproduction." Then, having explicitly rejected the fingering and other expressive practices that Spohr himself had detailed in his compositions and in his *Violinschule*, Flesch echoed Czerny's comment by concluding: "It is only that which is essential, Spohr's spirit, that we must try to save and carry over without injury into our own time."[54] Such references to 'spirit' provide a convenient justification for ignoring the aural expectations that lay behind composers' notational practices, while still claiming fidelity to their aesthetic intentions.

Czerny could not have foreseen a future in which tastes would have changed so radically from those with which he lived, that his strictures about playing the music exactly as the composer had notated it would have been understood in a way that was completely alien to the subtleties of beautiful performance, which he detailed with such care in his *Pianoforte-Schule*. He could not have anticipated the modernist artistic revolution of the early twentieth century and its ramifications into the twenty-first century. He could not have foreseen the incremental rejection of almost all the expressive resources he knew and employed, which involved what later musicians would deem significant deviations from the notated text. Could he still have recognised the validity of the spiritual

53 "So darf es auch nicht immer als eine Sünde wider den heiligen Geist angesehen werden, wenn man gelegentlich am rechten Orte selbst in den Werken unserer klassischen Meister einmal eine mehr moderne Strichart anbringt, zumal wenn man die Ueberzeugung hat, die Intention des Autors damit viel eher zu verwirklichen, als es von seiten seiner geigenden Zeitgenossen geschehen konnte. An einem Beispiel von Mozart […] wurde schon gezeigt, wie der zu dieses Meisters Zeit gewiß noch gar nicht bekannte Saltatostrich in seinen Werken da, wo leichte Grazie und prickelnder Humor vorherrschend sind, doch recht gut zu brauchen, ja nach unserem heutigen Geschmack gar nicht zu entbehren ist." Reinhold Jockisch: *Katechismus der Violine und des Violinspiels*, Leipzig 1900, p. 141.

54 "Wenn wir die Spohrschen Kompositionen zu neuem Leben erwecken wollen, so müssen wir uns für ihre Wiedergabe zeitgenössischer Ausdrucksmittel bedienen. […] Bloß das Wesentliche, den Geist Spohrs, müssen wir versuchen, unversehrt in unsere Zeit herüberzuretten." Carl Flesch: *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, Vol. 2: Künstlerische Gestaltung und Unterricht, Berlin 1928, p. 179.

conception in Artur Schnabel's celebrated recordings of all the Beethoven piano sonatas, despite Schnabel's total abandonment and condemnation of arpeggiation and asynchrony in piano playing, which Beethoven and Czerny certainly used extensively, but surely with great subtlety, as an essential expressive resource? Could Czerny have imagined the strict performance of notated rhythms, and the minimising of all kinds of tempo flexibility that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century? Could he have accepted that "the changed taste of the times" necessitated these developments in Beethoven performance, in order to preserve the spiritual conception?

Whatever tenuous threads of the "inherited 'spiritual legacy'", which Philokales had hoped to hear "entirely unchanged" in Czerny's playing, might have survived through the nineteenth century, were irreparably severed in the twentieth. This does not, however, mean that the study of historical sources is incapable of casting light on the hidden messages that are only to be 'read between the lines' of Beethoven's notation. Despite Czerny's inconsistency, his writings, and those of his contemporaries, offer stimulating insights into a lost world of performance that can still inspire us to reinvigorate Beethoven's music with a new spiritual conception, which may, perhaps, even achieve validity by changing the taste of the times.

Barry Cooper

Beethoven's Pedal Marks Revisited

Beethoven's pedal marks have been the subject of several brief studies in the past, notably by William S. Newman and David Rowland, and more recently by Leonardo Miucci.[1] A more comprehensive study has now been completed by Chi-fang Cheng, who worked with the present writer examining all Beethoven's pedal marks, including those in his songs and folksong settings, which had never previously been considered.[2] She documented the pedal marks and provided a useful checklist of almost all the works that contain them. However, the ideas offered in the present paper are my own, although she was able to incorporate many of them into her dissertation. Unlike Rowland's study, which concentrated on Beethoven's pedalling practice in performance, the present one concentrates on the pedal marks in the scores themselves (just the damper pedal, not the *una corda* indications), and it addresses a series of questions.

Earliest indications of dampers The first question is, which works contain Beethoven's earliest pedal marks – or rather, indications of removal of dampers? Whereas French and English piano makers had begun building a pedal for damper removal by the 1790s, on Viennese pianos of that date dampers were normally removed by knee levers, and so Beethoven's earliest markings were bound to indicate damper removal rather than actual pedal. There has been considerable confusion in the literature concerning the dates of these markings,[3] and the earliest ones appear amongst his sketches rather than his finished compositions. Miucci has found five references in the *Kafka Sketch Miscellany*, which covers the period 1786–1799, as follows:[4]

1 William S. Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven. Playing His Piano Music His Way*, New York 1988, pp. 231–252; David Rowland: Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, in: *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell, Cambridge 1994, pp. 49–69; Leonardo Miucci: Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style, in: *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 371–392.

2 Chi-fang Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, PhD dissertation, University of Manchester 2020.

3 Tilman Skowroneck, for example, suggests that Beethoven's first pedal markings, other than sketches, appeared in his first two piano concertos in versions from 1795 and in his Piano Sonata Op. 26, which dates from 1801. See his *Beethoven the Pianist*, Gothenburg 2007, p. 332. The dates he gives for the concerto manuscripts derive from Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven*, p. 233.

4 Miucci: Damper Pedalling, pp. 377–381; see also *Ludwig van Beethoven. Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799*, ed. by Joseph Kerman, London 1970, where the sketches were first transcribed.

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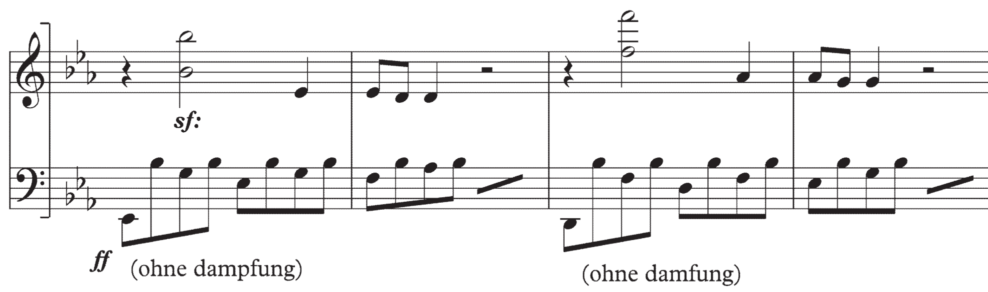
fol. 96 r (circa 1792)	"mit dem Knie" (among harmonisations for *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*)
fol. 51 v (1793)	"mit register" (part of an abandoned work in E major)
fol. 72 v (late 1795)	"ohne Dämfung" (among cadenza sketches for the first movement of the First Piano Concerto)
fol. 138 v (late 1795)	"Dämpfng" (among sketches for a second-movement cadenza for the same work)
fol. 82 r (mid-1796)	"mit dem Knieschieber" (in a preliminary idea for "God Save the King" Variations, WoO 78)

The earliest case, which is also cited by Newman and Rowland, indicates "with the knee", reflecting the Viennese practice, which was evidently the same in Bonn, where the sketch was written. The 1796 indication, "with the knee lever", is similar. The 1793 sketch refers to "register", which here means the apparatus on the instrument, like the registration for organ stops, as distinct from the actual keys. Since the mark accompanies a low note followed by higher chords, similar to the 1792 texture, it surely refers to the damper mechanism rather than a moderator or other device found on some pianofortes of the time. The other two sketches refer specifically to "dampers". Although the second one might imply "with dampers", this would be a pointless indication since it would reflect normal practice, and it must therefore indicate "raised dampers".

There is also a damper mark, largely overlooked, in the contemporaneous *Fischhof Miscellany*, on folio 27 r, datable to late 1796 or early 1797.[5] It is a double one: "(ohne dampfung)" appears in bar 1 and "(ohne dam[p]fung)", with a letter missing, in bar 3 (see Example 1). This is for an unused theme in E♭ major, and as in the earliest two sketches in the *Kafka Miscellany* the raised dampers serve to sustain a low note under repeated chords. It is self-evident that the dampers must be replaced in bars 2 and 4.



Example 1 Sketch with damper marks, 1796/1797 (*Fischhof Miscellany*, fol. 27 r)

5 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Beethoven aut. 28; for dating, see Douglas Johnson: *Beethoven's Early Sketches in the 'Fischhof Miscellany'. Berlin Autograph 28*, Ann Arbor 1980, Vol. 1, p. 171.

Thus all Beethoven's known damper marks of the 1790s are in sketches for works or passages that he never published, and there are none in his finished works, let alone published works, of the 1780s and 1790s. The reason is that there was no standard notation for releasing dampers on keyboard instruments. Just as in the sixteenth century staccato could not be indicated, and in the seventeenth century crescendos were not indicated, in the eighteenth century the precise tempo was not indicated, since there was no metronome, and pedal, too, was not marked. In each case it was up to the performer to decide, and no damper markings by any composer are known from before the 1790s. This does not mean that Beethoven never used pedal in any performance in the 1790s, for his sketches show clearly that he did; but the lack of standard notation prevented him indicating where, in any of his scores before 1800. But why 1800?

The first composer to use pedal markings was Daniel Steibelt, in 1793.[6] During the 1790s he worked in Paris, then London, and in both cities he published several works with pedal marks. A few other composers in both cities then started including pedal marks, using a variety of signs for pedal and pedal-off.[7] Viennese composers, however, were a little slower in doing so. Steibelt then arrived in Vienna in 1800 and took part in a famous piano duel with Beethoven around May that year, at the house of Count Fries. According to Ferdinand Ries, Beethoven played his Clarinet Trio (Op. 11), and Steibelt then played in a quintet of his own and improvised. Ries mentions Steibelt's striking tremolando effects, and although he does not mention pedal, we can be confident that Steibelt used it.[8] It is significant that Beethoven's first damper indication in a score appeared so soon after this meeting. Whatever Beethoven thought of Steibelt's music, he used a tremolando effect in the slow movement of his next piano sonata (Op. 26), as has often been noted; and he also began using damper marks, again following Steibelt – notably in that tremolando passage. If Steibelt was the immediate cause of Beethoven's adoption of the marks, however, it was evidently another pianistic rival, Joseph Wölfl, who prompted the precise notation Beethoven used. Whereas Steibelt had used a variety of symbols such as crossed circles, Wölfl used "Senza Sordini" in the third of his three sonatas Op. 6, which were published in Augsburg in 1798/1799 and were actually dedicated to "M^{r}. L. VAN BEETHOVEN", whose name is even more prominent on the title page than Wölfl's own. The two composers had known each other in Vienna, generating much rivalry between their supporters but clearly no animosity between the two of them (in

6 Rowland: Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, p. 56.

7 See Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, pp. 49–53.

8 Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Remembering Beethoven*, trans. by Frederick Noonan, Arlington 1987, pp. 70 f.; originally published as *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, p. 81.

contrast to Beethoven's relationship to Steibelt). The indication appears in the first and third movements of the sonata, and its extent is indicated by a wavy line, as in an 8va sign, rather than being cancelled by "con sordini". Since on many Viennese pianos at that time the damper mechanism was operated by a knee lever rather than a pedal (as on most French and English models), "senza sordini" was a better instruction than "pedal", since there might not be a pedal as such.[9]

Beethoven's first known use of the effect in an autograph score is found even before his Sonata Op. 26 of 1801, in his First Piano Concerto. Although this was composed in 1795, the surviving score dates from 1800. It was apparently written out shortly before his performance of the work at his benefit concert of 2 April 1800, but the piano part was extensively revised later in the year.[10] It was probably at this stage, thus shortly after Beethoven's encounter with Steibelt, that the new damper marks were added.[11] Being a string player, Beethoven was familiar with the terms "senza sordino" and "con sordino" in the singular, and therefore used these, unlike Wölfl's more correct "sordini". The concerto was then published in Vienna by Tranquillo Mollo in March 1801. At the same time Mollo published the Piano and Wind Quintet Op. 16, again with "senza sordino" indications. This quintet, like the First Piano Concerto, dates from somewhat earlier (1796), but the autograph is lost. It seems implausible that it contained damper markings at that stage, and they were presumably added for the published version in 1801. Another much earlier work with "senza sordino" markings is the Second Piano Concerto Op. 19. The earliest version of this dates back to Beethoven's Bonn days, but the surviving autograph score dates from 1798. It contains no pedal marks, however, for he always played the piano part from memory and did not write it out until April 1801, when he was badgered to do so by the publisher, Franz Anton Hoffmeister. This separately written piano part contains "senza sordino" markings in both of the first two movements.[12] By late 1802 Beethoven had published several more works with "senza sordino" markings, as follows:

9 Rowland (Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, p. 55) suggests Johann Baptist Cramer as a possible model for Beethoven, since the two had met in 1799; but the link here seems more tenuous chronologically than Steibelt, and Beethoven had not necessarily seen any of Cramer's pedal marks; moreover Cramer used "ped" rather than "senza sordini".

10 See Kurt Dorfmüller/Norbert Gertsch/Julia Ronge: *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Munich 2014 (hereafter LVBWV), Vol. 1, p. 78.

11 The score is in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Beethoven aut. 12. The damper indications appear in the following places: I.335 s.s.; 353 c.s; II.91 s.s. [c.s. omitted]; 116 <s.s. deleted>; 118 s.s.; III.148 s.s.; 151 c.s.; 483 s.s. [485 c.s. omitted].

12 Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, HCB Mh 4.

Op. 24	Violin Sonata in F major (Mollo, October 1801)
Op. 26	Piano Sonata in A♭ major (Cappi, March 1802)
Op. 27/1–2	Piano Sonatas in E♭ major and c♯ minor (Cappi, March 1802)
Op. 28	Piano Sonata in D major (Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie, July/August 1802)
WoO 46	"Bei Männern" Variations (Mollo, early (?) 1802)[13]

Beethoven's earliest known use of an explicit "pedal" indication appears in his *Kessler Sketchbook*, around June 1802. It is found amongst his early sketches for the *Prometheus* Variations Op. 35, where "senza s:" appears alongside "pedal", thus confirming the performing intention but showing uncertainty about the best notation.[14] In later sketches and the autograph score, however, Beethoven retained "senza sordino", which also appears in the first edition of August 1803. His hesitancy about the notation was justified: Josephine Deym wrote to her sister Therese Brunsvik in a letter dated 6 April 1802, shortly after publication of the Sonatas Opp. 26 and 27: "Concerning *con Sordino* I cannot tell you anything yet, as I did not see Beethoven."[15] The implication is that Josephine and Therese had not previously encountered the term in piano music and did not understand it. This was probably true for many other performers at the time.

The first actual pedal mark in a published Beethoven score occurs in his Sonata Op. 31 No. 2, which was issued by Hans Georg Nägeli in Zurich in April 1803. "Ped." appears several times in the first movement and is cancelled by a large "O". Unfortunately the autograph score does not survive, and so it is uncertain whether this was Nägeli's modification of Beethoven's original "senza sordino" or was Beethoven's own mark. It seems unlikely, however, that Nägeli would make such an alteration – and do so correctly every time – considering how many faults there are in his edition. Thus it was presumably Beethoven's own indication, even though the sonata was largely finished before the *Prometheus* Variations. The difference in notation between these two works may be due to Beethoven seeing the sonata as directed more towards the French market, in Nägeli's series "Répertoire des clavecinistes", whereas the variations were aimed at the Viennese and German markets. Pedal marks also appear in the first edition of the "Kreutzer" Violin Sonata Op. 47. Again the autograph is lost, but a corrected copy that dates from before 11 December 1803 contains pedal marks, shown as "ped:" and a large "O".[16]

13 Dates and publishers taken from LVBWV.

14 Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, A 34, fol. 84 r.

15 "Wegen con Sordino kann ich dir noch nichts berichten, weil ich Beethoven nicht sah." *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Klaus Martin Kopitz and Rainer Cadenbach, Munich 2009, Vol. 1, p. 145. All translations by the present author unless otherwise stated.

16 New York, Juilliard Manuscript Collection, 15 B393s n. 9; for dating, see Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 1, pp. 199–201 (letter 173).

Example 2 Sketch with "O" apparently denoting pedal (Landsberg 6, p. 119)

Around December that year Beethoven was also working on early ideas for the *Waldstein* Sonata, which appear in the sketchbook Landsberg 6.[17] On page 119 he tried a theme in 6/8 metre, but placed a large "O" at the start (see Example 2).[18] Since it would not make sense to indicate pedal-off at the start of a work, just as with the "Dämpf[u]ng" sketch of 1795 (see above), Beethoven was evidently confused by the newly evolving notation, and was using "O" erroneously to denote raised dampers. This would be effective at this point, and we must assume that the dampers would be replaced when the g♯ was struck in bar 2. Apparent confirmation of this interpretation appears two pages later in the sketchbook (page 121), where a similar "O" has been deleted and replaced with "s Sordin", followed by "c. s." in the next bar. Thus at this stage Beethoven had still not completely abandoned his earlier damper notation; but by the time he came to sketch the finale of the sonata he had switched to the more modern form, using "ped:", "pe" or "pedal" on pages 137 (twice) and 139 (three times), though each time omitting the pedal-off sign. When writing the autograph score of the sonata, he consistently used "ped.", cancelled by "O", and added a lengthy and oft-quoted explanation on page 1, stating that "ped." denoted raising of both bass and treble dampers. Thus Beethoven was aware of split pedals, or at least the split damper mechanism, but never marked them to be used.[19] He also showed no interest in other pedals such as lute or bassoon sounds, which he may have regarded as rather gimmicky, and he came to the *una corda* pedal only slowly, marking it mainly in his later works.

One surprisingly late work that uses the older damper notation is his Third Piano Concerto. No damper marks appeared in his early, slightly incomplete draft of 1800, but his late revisions, added to the score in black ink and apparently dating from early 1803,

17 Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska; facsimile and transcription in *Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook*, ed. by Lewis Lockwood and Alan Gosman, Urbana 2013.

18 The "O" is omitted in the transcription in *Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook*, Vol. 1, p. 119. The relationship of the sketch to the *Waldstein* Sonata is elucidated in Barry Cooper: Beethoven's Preliminary Sketches for the "Waldstein" Sonata, in: *Ad Parnassum* 28 (2016), pp. 1–20.

19 The autograph is in Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, Bodmer HCB Mh 7. A discussion of the various types of split damper mechanism available to Beethoven at the time and how he might have used it in performance is in Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, pp. 330–336. See also Skowroneck's article in this volume, pp. 345–357.

show a single "con sord" in bar 49 of the second movement. He actually meant "senza sordino" at this point, however, as is confirmed in the original edition of 1804, which contains several other "senza sordino" marks, clearly based on a lost source. This is his last known use of this notation, for thereafter his surviving scores consistently used "ped." and "O" for damper marks.

Unwritten pedal How often did Beethoven want pedal to be used, even though he did not mark it? Here much reliance has been placed on a remark by Carl Czerny: "Use of the pedal was very common with him, far more than one finds indicated in his works."[20] Many people might interpret this as giving modern pianists carte blanche to add pedal wherever they like. Nevertheless, there must be doubts about this interpretation – for three reasons. Firstly, although Beethoven would have felt entitled to alter his own works in performance, Ferdinand Ries reports that he very rarely added notes or embellishments, and even more rarely did he instruct others to do so.[21] Thus, even if he added extra pedal himself, this does not necessarily mean he wanted others to do so, especially in places that might be completely inappropriate. Secondly, Czerny studied with Beethoven mainly during 1801–1803. If Beethoven at that time played works published earlier, from a time when he did not write damper marks, he would surely add some pedal in suitable places. This would then leave Czerny with the impression that Beethoven added pedal "far more than one finds indicated", as he says; but this would not necessarily apply to later works where pedal was specifically marked, even though Czerny might assume that it did. Thirdly, in Beethoven's later works there is often quite detailed and extensive pedalling. Had he wanted more, he was perfectly capable of inserting it, and would surely have done so. Thus if one wants to play his music as he intended, one should be very wary of adding any more pedal to works where some is marked already.

There is another questionable line of argument. It is sometimes claimed that pianists should add pedal where it seems 'obvious', on the grounds that Beethoven marked only the less obvious places. Artur Schnabel claimed that Beethoven's pedal indications appear only in places where one would not expect them.[22] He was perhaps thinking of places such as the recitative passage in the Sonata Op. 31 No. 2. Thus the implication is that Beethoven simply did not need to indicate pedal in places where performers would use it anyway. Miucci has reached a similar conclusion: "Beethoven did not add pedal

20 "Der Gebrauch der Pedale war bey ihm sehr häufig, weit mehr, als man in seinen Werken angezeigt findet." See *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen*, Vol. 1, p. 232. Czerny made the same point elsewhere too.

21 Wegeler/Ries: *Remembering Beethoven*, p. 94.

22 See Anne-Louise Coldicott: Performance Styles Since Beethoven's Day, in: *The Beethoven Compendium. A Guide to Beethoven's Life and Music*, ed. by Barry Cooper, London ^{2}1996, pp. 298–302, here p. 299.

markings for passages where he expected his players to use the pedal according to convention."[23] There are three problems here. Firstly, conventions were not well established in early 1800s like they are today. Even if some conventions were emerging in Vienna by that time, what about Beethoven's 179 folksong settings, nearly all of which were intended for the British and especially Scottish market? Could Beethoven really expect the young ladies of Edinburgh, playing his folksong settings, to know the pedal conventions found in Vienna, when by all accounts the ladies had scarcely mastered the basics of piano playing? These folksong settings have been completely ignored in previous literature on Beethoven's pedal marks. Yet over a quarter of them have at least one pedal mark;[24] and these pedal marks appear only in the same sorts of contexts as those in his other works. There was no extra guidance for the players at elementary level. Secondly, one of the most obvious and conventional places to use pedal is on the final chord of a movement (though not every movement). It can be found in this context at an early stage in the works of other composers such as Jan Ladislav Dussek, Leopold Koželuch and Joseph Wölfl,[25] and became quite a common practice. Thus Beethoven should have needed no pedal mark added here, after perhaps the first three or four occasions. Yet this final tonic chord – very often as some kind of broken chord with elaborate decoration – is precisely the most frequent location for his pedal marks, and in several movements it is the only place where he marks pedal (see, for example, the first and last movements of the Sonata Op. 26). By the time of his last four piano sonatas, conventions should have been well established, yet eight of these twelve movements have a pedal mark for the final chord, and the other four are clearly better without one. Why did he bother writing these pedal marks, if he could rely on convention? Thirdly, using information from theorists of the period, such as Johann Peter Milchmeyer and Friedrich Starke, Miucci perceptively identifies five categories that they recommend for performers to add pedal even if not marked.[26] If these passages were becoming established as conventional for pedal to be added, as implied by the theorists, Beethoven would not have needed to indicate pedal marks there. Yet he sometimes did, as in the following cases.

The first category is slurred arpeggios across several registers. Beethoven tended to use a pedal mark instead of a slur in long arpeggios, as in the opening of *Für Elise* (fairly short arpeggios), the end of Op. 57 (and near the end of its first movement), and the incredible six-octave arpeggio from "contra E" at the climax of the finale of Op. 101

23 Miucci: Damper Pedalling, p. 392.

24 The list in Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, pp. 67–69, is not quite complete, omitting the settings that have no opus or WoO number; altogether 49 of the 179 settings include a pedal mark.

25 See Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, pp. 136–154.

26 Miucci: Damper Pedalling, pp. 374–378.

(bars 228–231), which is marked with pedal even in the sketches.[27] Occasionally, however, there are slurs and a pedal mark too, as at the end of Variation 4 in the finale of Op. 109 (bar 113b), where both hands have slurs. A long slurred arpeggio occurs at the start of the third variation in the finale of Op. 111, but Beethoven did not mark pedal here and probably did not want it, as it would quickly cause problems of harmony if similar pedalling were used with the following slurs. The second category is broken chords combined with crescendo or diminuendo, with dampers being raised throughout the crescendo but lowered near the end of a diminuendo. Beethoven quite often marks pedal with broken chords, but without removing it at the end of a diminuendo, as in the slow movement of Op. 106 (bars 178–180) and the end of the first movement of Op. 57. The third category, sustaining a slow melody over repeated chords or figuration, is less commonly pedalled by Beethoven, but examples can be found, such as the start of the "Klagender Gesang" in Op. 110 and a passage near the end of Op. 109 (bars 184–187). As in the previous two categories, these passages do not exactly correspond to those of the theorists, which could be the reason why Beethoven felt it necessary to mark the pedal here. The fourth category, reinforcing an accent, is rarely found, though Miucci notes an example in the finale of the *Moonlight* Sonata. The final category involves sustaining a bass note with the pedal when the left hand is otherwise occupied, as in Example 1 above and the first two sketches noted in the *Kafka Miscellany*. Again Beethoven sometimes, but not always, marks pedal in this context, as at the end of "Abwesenheit" in the *Lebewohl* Sonata Op. 81a, bars 49/50 of the first movement of Op. 111, and bars 67–74 of the first movement of Op. 79. This last case is particularly noteworthy, for the previous eight bars have the same texture but with no pedal mark. Beethoven was deliberately contrasting the two sonorities by omitting the pedal in bars 59–66, no doubt hoping that pianists would not blindly follow the instruction books at this point; and just in case one suspects he simply forgot to add pedal, he made the same contrast in bars 83–98. A similar contrast of sonorities, with the low note only sometimes pedalled, occurs in the finale of his Fifth Piano Concerto: for example, bars 1/2 are pedalled, 3/4 not pedalled, with different dynamic but similar in texture; and 162–166 pedalled, 167–172 not pedalled, this time with the same dynamic and texture.

Thus, at the very least, the situation is more complex than previously thought. It may be that Beethoven always intended pedal in these contexts, but did not always feel it necessary to reinforce convention (inasmuch as there was one) by writing it in. Alternatively, in works where he included pedal marks in some places, especially his later works, he really did not want pedal used where it was not marked. This seems much more likely,

27 See Barry Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven's 35 Piano Sonatas*, Abingdon 2017, p. 163; the sketch is in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mendelssohn 2, p. 69.

since he was quite meticulous and detailed with his dynamic markings, ornaments, articulation and pedal marks in these works, attempting to leave nothing to chance, and it would have been so easy to add more pedal if he had wanted it. Moreover, Schnabel's suggestion that Beethoven inserted pedal marks "only" where they might seem improbable is clearly untenable. Nevertheless, Schnabel is right to assert that Beethoven's pedal markings must be observed, "because they are an inseparable part of the music as such, and if one does not observe these pedal marks, the music is changed."[28] This injunction recalls one in the first edition of Arthur Sullivan's famous song *The Lost Chord* (1877): "N. B. The Pedal marks should be very carefully observed."[29] This insistence on careful observation of pedal is made despite some harmonic blur that results between consecutive chords in some sections of the accompaniment. There is no reason to suppose Beethoven was any less concerned than Sullivan about the issue.

Let us now examine a specific case that has already aroused comment previously – the start of the first variation in the Sonata Op. 109 (see Example 3). Rowland has suggested that it is "unlikely" that the passage "should be played without the pedal".[30] This makes sense in the first bar; yet in the second and third bars there would be an unavoidable blur in the right-hand notes, which militates against this interpretation. Beethoven did sometimes use pedal across changes of harmony, as in the first movement of the *Moonlight* Sonata, where he indicates pedal throughout, and in the above-mentioned recitative passage in Op. 31 No. 2. This type of blurring was also not unusual with other composers of the period,[31] and so the blurring that would result in Op. 109 is not an impossible sound. But it is fairly rare in Beethoven, especially in his late works, except if very brief, very high or very soft, and it is not found in contexts similar to this one. He could easily have written "ped." at this point, as he did in several other places in the sonata, but he chose not to. Hence he evidently did not want pedal here. The use of short bass notes, sustained through the bar only in the imagination, has a long history, stretching right back to the *style brisé* of Baroque composers. It is still common in the works of Haydn and Mozart, right through to Rossini and Verdi (as in the famous "La donna è mobile" in *Rigoletto*). Thus this is presumably the effect Beethoven wanted here, rather than with the texture smudged by the pedal, as later editors have suggested. Miucci cites Moscheles's edition of 1858, where the editor freely adds pedal at this point in Op. 109, along with

28 Artur Schnabel: *My Life and Music*, New York 1988, p. 136. See also Coldicott: Performance Styles, p. 299.

29 Arthur Sullivan: *The Lost Chord, Song, with Pianoforte & Harmonium (ad. lib.) Accompaniment* …, London [1877], p. 2.

30 Rowland: Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, p. 61.

31 See ibid., pp. 64–67, which refers to this effect "around the turn of the century, in Vienna and elsewhere", and gives examples by Joseph Gelinek, Muzio Clementi and François-Adrien Boieldieu.

Example 3 Sonata Op. 109, finale, bars 17–20

Example 4 Sonata Op. 109, finale, bars 200–203

other changes such as a diminuendo hairpin instead of "cresc." in the fourth bar of the variation.[32] Although, as Miucci observes, Moscheles was well acquainted with Beethoven, he did not hear him play this sonata, since by the time it was written in 1820 Beethoven had ceased performing. Moscheles's revisions of Beethoven's text must therefore be regarded as anachronistic.

The last chord of the same sonata is marked with pedal (see Example 4), which had been previously absent in the whole of the final reprise of the original theme (bars 188–203). This use of pedal for a final chord (and any repetitions or respacing of it) is very common in Beethoven's music, as mentioned earlier, and is a way of emphasising the close, almost like an amen. The pedal notated on this final chord here subtly differentiates it from the chord at the end of the original theme, giving a wonderful extra resonance that greatly heightens the sense of fulfilment at the end of a long and arduous journey. If pedal is added during this reprise variation – for example, to sustain the bass note in bar 200 – the whole effect is lost. Thus the variation, and therefore the original theme that it closely matches, were evidently intended to be without pedal. And if the pedal is not used with the theme, then its absence in Variation 1 no longer leaves the sound seeming uncomfortably dry.

It is worth noting that, where there was pedal on the final chord, Beethoven never indicated a pedal-off at the end of a movement, although some of his contemporaries did. Many modern editions have followed their practice by inserting pedal-off marks at the end of Beethoven's movements, and not always using editorial brackets. Sometimes they even misplace the pedal-off sign well before the final double bar. A particularly unfortunate case is the end of Variation 32 of the *Diabelli* Variations. Beethoven forgot to

32 Miucci: Damper Pedalling, p. 389.

include the pedal-off mark in his autograph score, but he carefully placed it at the start of Variation 33 in the corrected copy for the printer.[33] Diabelli, however, placed it at the end of Variation 32, just before the double bar. This misplaced sign survives in modern editions and is consequently observed incorrectly in many recordings, with an uncomfortable and unauthorised silence between the two variations, where there should be no break in the sound. Modern editions in fact often misplace Beethoven's pedal-off marks at the ends of bars, situating them just before the barline, whereas Beethoven placed them after the barline, whether as *con sordino* or as a large "O". The only exception was when pedal was required at the beginning of the next bar, in which case he placed his pedal-off before the barline – usually one note before it, as in bars 105 and 106 of the finale of Op. 109. Where such a change of pedal is needed for consecutive bars, one might expect syncopated pedalling (where the pedal is lifted as a new chord is struck, then immediately lowered). This syncopated pedalling is normal practice today, and it is quite possible that Beethoven sometimes did this in performance; perhaps he even intended it where the pedal-off is marked before the barline. There is no firm evidence that he did, however, and he never indicated it in his scores, unlike Muzio Clementi.[34]

Beethoven's pedal and pedal-off marks, like his dynamic marks, are sometimes slightly preplaced in his autographs – for example, between a barline and the first chord of the following bar; but in such cases it is obvious where it is intended to apply. He also sometimes forgot to indicate pedal-off, leaving uncertainty about his intentions. In the second song in *An die ferne Geliebte*, for example, the pedal mark on the opening G major chord is not cancelled, and so it is unclear whether the pedal is to be sustained through the following rest and perhaps the next chord, also G major, before being released on the ensuing D major chord, or whether it is to be released at the start of the rest, creating a pregnant silence. In all other ways, however, his pedal marks are very precisely aligned, even at a specific point in the middle of a rest. This applies, for example, in bars 101 and 105 of the finale of the *Waldstein* Sonata, where he altered a crotchet rest to two quaver rests, so that he could align the pedal-off mark with the second one. Similarly, in bars 2 and 4 of the first movement of Op. 111 he carefully placed the pedal-off mark on beat 4 in his composing score; unfortunately, in his hastily written fair copy the mark in bar 2 is ambiguously aligned and the one in bar 4 is missing.[35] Consequently most later sources and modern editions have misplaced the marks, showing them later in the bar.

33 Both manuscripts are in the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn: NE 294 (autograph) and Bodmer HCB Mh 55 (copy).

34 See Rowland: Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, p. 62, which cites a passage from Clementi's Fantasia Op. 48.

35 The composing score is in Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, BH 71; the fair copy is in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Artaria 198.

In both passages in these two sonatas, the pedal-off mark appears after a pedalled quaver that is followed by a quaver rest (two quaver rests in the case of the *Waldstein*). It is unclear why Beethoven did not simply write a crotchet, which would sound exactly the same as a quaver plus pedalled rest. It could be simply a random notational irregularity, but it could be partly an indication of how the music should feel to the pianist. The pianist might then respond slightly differently: a quaver followed by a quaver rest, even if all pedalled, might well be played more lightly than a solid crotchet with pedal.

Changes in piano design How far did Beethoven respond to changing piano design by adopting different pedalling patterns in his later works, or for works intended for other countries – France or Britain? Mostly there is no evidence that he did this. His pedal practices remained very similar throughout his life. For example, the unusual pedalling at the start of the finale of the *Waldstein* Sonata might be connected with the arrival of his Érard piano shortly beforehand. Yet he had used exactly the same unusual procedure in the similar texture in Variation 8 of the *Prometheus* Variations (Op. 35), composed a year before the arrival of the Érard. The only significant changes in his pedal markings between 1800 and the 1820s are that they tend to become more frequent in his later works, and their use combined with scales, especially loud scales, disappears. One finds this blurred harmonic effect, for example, in the C major Piano Concerto, the Quintet Op. 16, and the finale of the *Waldstein* Sonata; but the last use of an extended scale with pedal is at the end of his song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, where the music is mostly *piano* or *pianissimo*. Beethoven may have intended the resultant blurring to suggest the echo of the mountains, though unfortunately many present-day performers disregard this pedal marking.

This avoidance of loud pedalled scales may be partly due to the increased sustaining power of later pianos, which would make a loud blur rather unpleasant. As mentioned earlier, Beethoven does sometimes explicitly mark pedal across a change of harmony, even in later works; but nearly all of this later blurred pedalling is found in very soft or very high passages, or both soft and high, which mitigates the effect. The end of the Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 3, where blurred pedalling appears with soft but very low notes, is unusual.

Use of the pedal was still fairly unsophisticated in Beethoven's day, with no indications of half-pedal, or frequent and rapid changes of pedal to aid legato, or sudden removal and re-application of pedal to create a faster diminuendo on a chord. Nor was pedal used to reinforce a *fortissimo* (on some Clementi pianos the damper pedal actually made the sound slightly softer rather than louder). It is significant that in the abovementioned passage of contrasting sonorities in Op. 79 (bars 59–74 and 83–98) it is the soft, *dolce* sections, not their loud counterparts, that have pedal marks. Beethoven's greater use

of pedal marks in his later works may be a reflection of increased confidence in and awareness of their effectiveness. He was, however, quite restrained with them on the whole, no doubt aware that they would have to work well on all types of piano, not just local Viennese ones or the most recent models.

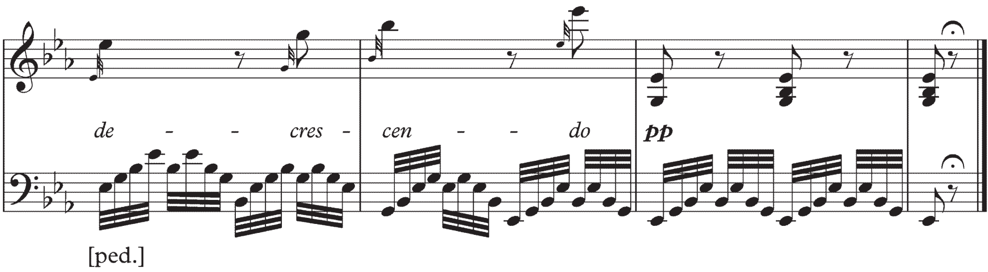
Pedal in Beethoven's early works Since the absence of damper marks in works Beethoven composed before 1800 was evidently due to a lack of standard notation, rather than a reluctance to use pedal or knee-lever, the question arises of where in these works he would have intended pedal to be used by later performers. He added *una corda*, originally absent, in a later authorised edition of the slow movement of the Sonata Op. 28,[36] but unfortunately he did not do the same with the damper pedal or with any pre-1800 works. Since his use of pedal marks changed hardly at all between early and late periods, however, one can conclude that in the works of the 1790s he probably intended similar effects, and would have marked pedal in similar contexts if the notation had been available. Thus here it would arguably be desirable, or at least in line with his intentions, to add some pedal, but probably only in the kinds of contexts where he marked pedal in later works.

Three examples of different types of such location will suffice as illustrations, the first being final chords. Pedal here is especially appropriate if they are broken or repeated with different spacing, as at the end of the finale of the Sonata Op. 7 (see Example 5, which shows editorial pedal corresponding to Beethoven's later practice). Czerny actually recommends "[t]he last four bars with the pedal",[37] which seems absolutely right. Although the previous 14 bars have somewhat similar figuration and texture, it is unlikely that Beethoven intended pedal here, since the chords change several times, and any pedal would also undermine the sense of conclusion in the last four bars. Beethoven also quite often used pedal for extended arpeggio passages or broken chords, though mainly just in special effects rather than ordinary broken chords. A good example where he probably intended this in early works appears in the first movement of the Sonata Op. 2 No. 3, in the unusual extended arpeggios during the cadenza-like passage, in bars 218–231. Again Czerny recommends the effect: "At the transition into A flat (at the end – before the cadence) the pedal must be harmoniously used."[38] His phrase "harmoniously used"

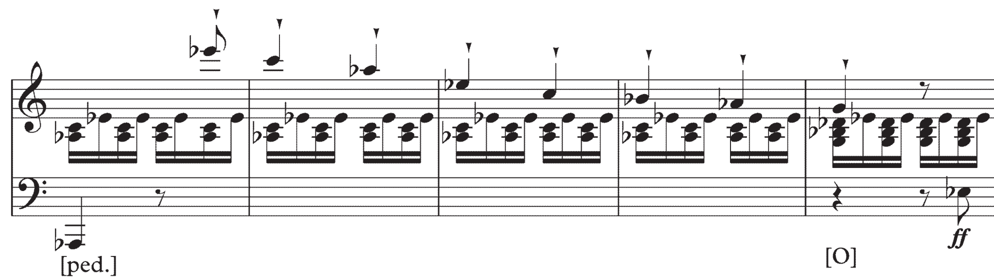
36 See Ludwig van Beethoven: *The 35 Piano Sonatas*, ed. by Barry Cooper, London 2007, Vol. 2, Commentaries, p. 27.

37 "[…] die letzten 4 Takte mit Pedal." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-Schule op. 500*, Vienna [1846], p. 41. English: Carl Czerny: *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Pianoforte Works. Being a Supplement to the Royal Pianoforte School Op. 500*, trans. by John Bishop, London [1846], p. 39.

38 "Bei dem Übergang nach As (am Schlusse, vor der Cadenz) ist das Pedal harmonios anzuwenden." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 38. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 36.



Example 5 **Sonata Op. 7, finale, bars 180–183**



Example 6 **Sonata Op. 2 No. 2, first movement, bars 133–137**

indicates that the pedal should change with each change of harmony, which would be in line with Beethoven's later practice. A third context in which Beethoven sometimes used pedal was, as mentioned earlier, to sustain a bass note in a broken-chord passage (as actually marked, for example, in the finale of the *Lebewohl* Sonata Op. 81a, bars 29/30, 33/34, 37–44). An early opportunity for using this technique appears in the development section of the first movement of the Sonata Op. 2 No. 2 (Example 6, showing editorial pedal), and again Czerny concurs: "In the 11th bar of the second part [bar 133], whilst the left hand is held over the right, the pedal must be used, as long as the harmony does not change."[39]

Thus Czerny seems to have been quite sensitive to the places where Beethoven used pedal, for he does not make a habit of recommending pedal for every passage that uses arpeggios or broken chords. Nevertheless, there are some places where his suggestion is questionable. In the first movement of the *Appassionata* Sonata, which Czerny claims to have played for Beethoven several times, he recommends pedal at bar 14 (where there is broken-chord figuration), and at 17 and 20 (where there are loud F major and C major

39 "Im 11ten Takt des 2ten Teils, während dem Überschlagen der linken Hand ist das Pedal zu nehmen, so lange die Harmonie nicht wechselt." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 38. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 34.

chords).[40] However, this is a movement where Beethoven uses extensive pedal marks, often in quite striking places. He could have easily included them here, but did not – which implies that he believed these passages to be more effective without pedal. Thus pedal here is, at best, optional, perhaps tolerated by Beethoven himself (if his weak hearing noticed it when Czerny played for him), but certainly not necessary.

Pedal in vocal works Beethoven seems to have been hesitant to include pedal marks in his songs, for none are found until the duet "Odi l'aura" Op. 82 No. 5, composed in 1809/1810.[41] Perhaps he regarded his songs as destined for a more amateur or dilettante market than his sonatas, chamber works and concertos, thus a context where accompanists would not be in the habit of using pedal. Pedal marks are, however, found in most of his songs from 1814 onwards, and there are 21 in *An die ferne Geliebte* (1816) alone. A somewhat similar pattern arises with his folksong settings. Of the 53 in the initial batch (Groups I and II) sent to George Thomson in July 1810, only seven contain pedal marks, which remained fairly scarce in most of the next ten batches. In the last five batches sent to Thomson (Groups XIII–XVII), however, more than half the settings use pedal (11 out of 19).[42]

In Beethoven's folksong settings he rarely had the poetic text, and so any pedal marks were prompted by purely musical reasons. They appear mainly on final chords and in certain broken-chord or arpeggio passages. In the songs, however, the text was always present, and his first use of pedal in a song, at the start of "Odi l'aura", was clearly prompted by the text. The gently rustling breeze to which the poet draws attention is readily portrayed by soft, high-pitched tremolandos, and the potential hardness of the repetitions is mollified by the addition of pedal, which helps to smooth out the sound to enhance the effect of rustling. Beethoven was certainly one of the first composers, if not the first, to indicate pedal for expressive purposes, and he did so in several later songs. Most striking is his combination of repeated chords and pedal to suggest some kind of flickering light. This can be found in the final song of *An die ferne Geliebte* for the last beams of the sun setting behind the hills (bars 278–282); in *Resignation* (WoO 149) for the flickering light of a flame; and for twinkling stars in *Abendlied* (WoO 150). In view of these cases, it would surely be appropriate to add pedal in "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur", the fourth of the *Gellert Lieder* (Op. 48), at the appearance of similar repeated chords that

40 Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 61. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 59. Cf. Carl Czerny: *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, ed. by Paul Badura-Skoda, Vienna 1970, p. 14, and Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, pp. 29 f.

41 A list of Beethoven's songs containing pedal marks is provided in Cheng: *Beethoven's Pedal Markings*, pp. 321 f.

42 The groups are those listed in Barry Cooper: *Beethoven's Folksong Settings. Chronology, Sources, Style*, Oxford 1994, pp. 211–220.

Example 7 "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur" Op. 48 No. 4, bars 18–23

portray the "innumerable stars of the sky" ("Wer trägt der Himmel unzählbare Sterne"; see Example 7, with editorial pedal added in line with Beethoven's later practice). The song was composed in 1801/1802, before Beethoven had begun indicating pedal in vocal music. Another song where added pedal would be appropriate is *In questa tomba oscura* (WoO 133), composed in 1807. Here a voice from the grave pleads to be left in peace, and in the central section the piano has a low tremolando accompaniment. Since this is very similar to the tremolando passages in the "Marcia funebre" movement in the Sonata Op. 26, where Beethoven explicitly marks pedal, and the expressive context is similar, inserting pedal at this point in this song would probably be in line with his intentions.

Conclusions Beethoven's pedal marks raise quite a diversity of issues that have not previously been addressed adequately. The biggest uncertainty in works that already have some pedal marked is how far he wanted any extra pedal added by performers. At one extreme, he may have been happy to allow the performer to add pedal indiscriminately according to personal taste, an approach that appears to be common in modern performances. At the other extreme, he may have wanted pedal used in his later works only where specifically marked. Somewhere between these two positions, he may have expected performers to have read the relevant theorists and be able to deduce where it was appropriate to add pedal, sometimes but not always marking this in for confirmation in certain contexts.

There were, however, no well-developed pedal traditions in those days, and so Beethoven could not expect pianists in several different countries to know exactly where he would want it added. This would account for why he often added pedal marks in obvious places as well as surprising ones. It follows, therefore, that the second of these three positions, adding no unauthorised pedal in his later works, is probably close to his intentions. In these works his pedal marks are quite extensive, and he could easily have

added others if he had so desired. The fact that he did not do so strongly suggests he marked pedal only where he thought it beneficial. Pianists should therefore be very cautious about adding any extra at all in works that are already provided with extensive pedal marks. He never wrote "senza ped.", for he evidently regarded a pedal-off mark as sufficient indication. He did, however, indicate "con sordino" in his earliest works that have damper marks, and this is quite explicit. A noteworthy case is in bars 163–166 of the finale of the *Moonlight* Sonata. These bars contain two extended arpeggios, which might invite pedal. Yet the first is explicitly marked "con sordino" whereas the second is "senza sordino", thus creating a deliberate contrast. Hence it would be misguided to assume that any unmarked arpeggio should have pedal added, even if this is recommended by some theorists. A similar contrast between pedalled and unpedalled phrases occurs in the passage in Op. 79 mentioned earlier. Another noteworthy passage is bars 465–474 of the finale of the *Waldstein* Sonata, where there are octave glissandos for both hands in alternation. Since such glissandos are particularly difficult on modern keyboards, because of their greater depth of key than on early pianos, many pianists split the octaves between hands and sustain the accompanying chords with the pedal. Yet Beethoven specifically places a pedal-off sign at the beginning of this passage, and pedal does not resume until bar 485. Thus he clearly did not want this pedal effect during the octave glissandos.

In the early works, however – those composed up to 1800 (including the Piano Sonata Op. 22) and songs written before 1810 – the situation is different. Here Beethoven did not include any pedal marks where he would have wanted them. In the instrumental works it was because no sufficiently widely recognised notation had evolved, while in the vocal works the reasons are less obvious but are probably related to their use as non-serious salon music (even if the texts themselves might be serious), where pedal marks might be considered too sophisticated. It would therefore probably be in line with his intentions either to play all these works without any pedal as marked, or better still to add pedal but only in places where one can conjecture that he was likely to have done, according to the principles derived from his later practice. This would particularly apply to final chords – especially when written with some broken figuration – and to some arpeggio passages or broken-chord figuration, notably where a bass note is sustained beneath the figuration as in Example 1. There may also be a few places where Beethoven would have applied or at least allowed blurred pedalling, even during scale figuration, although on a modern instrument a judicious half-pedal would be closer to the intended sound than full pedal in such places.

One could apply these principles not just to selected passages but to a whole sonata. In the *Pathétique* Sonata, for example, a likely place for adding pedal in the first movement would be the sustained chords at bars 89–92 and the reprises of this passage; and in the

second movement the final two (or three) chords of the movement. It is quite likely, however, that Beethoven would have added pedal marks nowhere else in the sonata, had he first published it a few years later. There are certainly many places in this sonata where adding pedal would not be consistent with his normal practice, such as single staccato chords, or legato passages where the fingers alone can create a smooth sound. Thus Beethoven probably did not intend pedal in the chords at the end of the first movement, nor the theme at the start of the second, where the pianist could use finger legato.[43] One should be particularly cautious about adding pedal in places such as these, which may seem 'obvious' today but are not consistent with the places where he ever marked it. Such pedalling risks being gratuitous and may actually cause problems.

It must be emphasised that pianists are not obliged to follow Beethoven's intentions, and are perfectly at liberty to disregard his pedal marks, such as the one at the end of *An die ferne Geliebte*, or add pedal wherever they wish. Many pianists will no doubt continue to do so. On the other hand, some pianists will surely want to reproduce his intended text, and should therefore generally refrain from adding pedal in works where he had already marked some, since it is far from certain that any such addition would be in line with what he wanted. But the pedal marks he did write are, as Schnabel observed, an integral part of the score. Thus, if someone wants to play what Beethoven wrote and intended, then in the words of Sullivan, the "pedal marks should be very carefully observed."

43 Czerny noted how well Beethoven used to join full chords without using the pedal, see Gustav Nottebohm: *Zweite Beethoveniana. Nachgelassene Aufsätze*, Leipzig 1887, p. 356.

Neal Peres Da Costa

The Case for Un-Notated Arpeggiation in Beethoven's Compositions for or Involving the Piano

> *"Do not strike down the chords in minims, as if you were killing gnats; because the only means by which an instrument, incapable of sustaining the sound, can give them expression, is by being played on [sic] arpeggio."*[1]

Introduction The epigram above provides a humorous analogy between the playing of notes in chords firmly together on the piano and the harsh, abrasive sounds that emanate from the swatting of insects. Written in 1818 by "an eminent Professor on the Continent" and "[t]ranslated from the French, by a Lady of rank",[2] it makes clear that the un-notated arpeggiation of chords on the piano – an instrument incapable of sustaining sound – particularly those of long value (such as half notes), was requisite for an expressive rendition in which at the very least an impression of sustained connection (legato) could be made. Noteworthy is the fact that the eminent Professor provided instructions for teachers of children with the aim that budding pianists would learn to play "in the most finished style of elegance."[3] The implication is that un-notated arpeggiation was not the preserve of trained (professional) pianists alone.

Other commentators in the era made clear distinctions between the effect of arpeggiated and un-arpeggiated chords in piano playing. In 1829, the celebrated English organist Samuel Wesley (1766–1837) explained that pianists

> "do not put down the Keys simultaneously, *which on the Organ should always be done*, but one after another, beginning at the lowest note of the Base [sic]: so that (to use a harsh military Metaphor) the Effect on the Ear is not that of a general instantaneous *Explosion* [un-arpeggiated chords] but rather of a *running Fire* [arpeggiated chords]".[4]

I have previously surveyed evidence preserved in written texts and on early sound recordings, which together strongly indicates that during the long nineteenth century,

1 [Anon.]: *Advice to a Nobleman, on the Manner in which his Children Should be Instructed on the Pianoforte; with Precise Directions as to their Mode of Practice, and Many Lessons for Playing that Instrument in the Most Finished Style of Elegance. With Observations on the New System of Musical Education, and Occasional Remarks on Singing*, 4th edition, London 1834 ([1]1818), pp. 32 f.

2 Cf. the title page of the first edition of the *Advice*, as given in the catalogue of the Princeton Library: https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9970176883506421 – all links in this article last consulted 6 September 2022.

3 [Anon.]: *Advice to a Nobleman*, title page.

4 *The Letters of Samuel Wesley. Professional and Social Correspondence, 1797–1837*, ed. by Philip Olleson, Oxford 2001, p. 439.

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many pianists considered the use of un-notated arpeggiation (in myriad ways) as key to a 'beautiful' or artistically sophisticated performance style.[5] This chapter focuses on Ludwig van Beethoven's "intentions, expectations or tacit assumptions"[6] for the use of un-notated arpeggiation in the performance of his piano works. When Beethoven himself was not the realiser of his compositions, he relied on executants – trained musicians from within his close circle who had ear- and eye-witness experience as well as deep understanding of his notational practices – to bring his compositions to life. They utilised an armoury of valued expressive practices that were hardly, if ever, notated, crafting interpretations that were simultaneously Beethovenian and expressly personal. As Clive Brown explains: in the Classical and Romantic eras, "performers' freedom to impress their own personality on the music, often through minor, and sometimes major modifications of the strict meaning of the notation, was regarded as a right which only a few composers seriously disputed."[7]

This is in stark contrast with the notion of text fidelity which came increasingly to dominate performance style during the modernist era of the first half of the twentieth century – and still largely shapes classical music performance in the present time – resulting in relatively score-bound interpretations in which artistic agency and input are minimal.[8] Leon Botstein has argued that in terms of the canon of piano music by Classical-era composers – Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert – the pianist Artur Schnabel (1882–1951) played a significant role in sanctifying their scores through his 'revolutionary' mode of interpretation: "What Schnabel pioneered was a specific approach to the texts of musical classicism, one bereft of evident improvisation, extroverted subjectivism, or the overlay of romantic interpretation."[9] Botstein further explains that Schnabel "had

5 See Neal Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record. Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, New York 2012; Peres Da Costa: Carl Reinecke's Performance of his Arrangement of the Second Movement from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488. Some Thoughts on Style and the Hidden Messages in Musical Notation, in: *Rund um Beethoven. Interpretationsforschung heute*, ed. by Thomas Gartmann and Daniel Allenbach, Schliengen 2019 (Musikforschung der Hochschule der Künste Bern, Vol. 14), pp. 114–149; Peres Da Costa: Piano Techniques, in: *Beethoven Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin. Performing Practice Commentary*, ed. by Clive Brown and Neal Peres Da Costa, Kassel 2020, pp. 5–10, (available at www.baerenreiter.com/en/shop/product/details/BA9014/); Peres Da Costa: Performance Practices for Romantic and Modern Repertoire, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Music Performance*, ed. by Gary E. McPherson, New York 2022, Vol. 1, pp. 396–455.

6 Clive Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford 1999, p. 1.

7 Ibid., pp. 1 f. See also ibid., p. 4.

8 Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. IX f. and XXIV–XXVIII.

9 Leon Botstein: Artur Schnabel and the Ideology of Interpretation, in: *The Musical Quarterly* 85 (2001), pp. 587–594, here p. 589; Botstein goes on to suggest that in so doing Schnabel was countering advice by, for example, the German pianist Carl Reinecke in *Briefe an eine Freundin* (1894) on the performance of Beethoven's piano sonatas, which Schnabel considered too radical a departure from Beethoven's

a decisive influence on the shape of twentieth-century performance practice", not least a long-lasting legacy "of a close reading and some presumed fidelity to a text and its 'true' meaning".[10] Of course Schnabel was not the only pianist of the early twentieth century to advocate for text fidelity. Others like Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924), Joseph Hofmann (1876–1957), Mark Hambourg (1879–1960) and Walter Gieseking (1895–1956) remonstrated against 'romantic' practices such as un-notated arpeggiation, though unable entirely to expunge these from their own performance.[11]

Schnabel was the first to record the entire cycle of Beethoven's 32 piano sonatas between 1932 and 1935. While these have remained a yardstick for the cycle's interpretation even to the present day,[12] there is no doubt that Schnabel's performances are a product of the modernist approach, exhibiting little of the expressive practices and artistic personality that characterised artistic piano playing in the Romantic era. But Schnabel's outright rejection of what he considered the excessive accretions of late Romantic style, and his disavowal of the pianism of the generation before his (for example Carl Reinecke [1824–1910] – born while Beethoven was still alive –, and even his own teacher Theodor Leschetizky [1830–1915] who studied with Carl Czerny [1791–1857] – Beethoven's much-admired student) was akin to 'throwing out the baby with the bath water'. For the style of this older generation preserved remnants (at least) of practices emanating from as far back as Beethoven's era or before.[13] Schnabel's zeal for text fidelity is nothing new to those of us who received our musical training in the second half of the twentieth century, inculcated with and into this doctrine. It is unsurprising, therefore, that to the present day, Beethoven's scores and their markings remain sacred, the last word, and the truth, even in historically-informed and other 'enlightened' circles.

text. I have explored the significance of Reinecke's interpretation of piano music by Mozart as evidenced on piano rolls and the probability that his playing preserves expressive practices emanating from Mozart's era that however were not notated in the score. With reference in particular to manual asynchrony and chordal arpeggiation see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 84–88, 159–163, and Peres Da Costa: Carl Reinecke's Performance, pp. 114–149.

10 Botstein: Artur Schnabel, p. 590.

11 See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 96 f., 186, 247–249, and 304–306.

12 For example, Tim Page describes Schnabel's Beethoven cycle as "the standard by which all subsequent performances have been judged." See Tim Page: Beethoven's Sonatas Remain a Pianistic Everest, in: *The New York Times*, 17 November 1985, www.nytimes.com/1985/11/17/arts/beethoven-s-sonatas-remain-a-pianistic-everest.html. And William Robin explains that Schnabel "remains the eminent Beethoven interpreter on record". William Robin: Beethoven Again, in: *The New Yorker*, 17 January 2014, www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/beethoven-again.

13 See Richard Taruskin: *Text and Act*, New York 1995, p. 168; John Butt: *Playing with History*, Cambridge 2002, p. 35. In relation to Schnabel's abandonment of arpeggiation and asynchrony in his Beethoven Piano Sonata cycle recordings, see also Clive Brown: Czerny the Progressive, in this book, p. 39.

It has been suggested to me that Beethoven was generally opposed to arpeggiation. The evidence cited in support of this claim is correspondence in 1796 between Beethoven and his respected friend, the piano builder Johann Andreas Streicher (1761–1833), in which Beethoven links piano playing with harp playing:

> "Until now, the way people play the Klavier certainly still makes it the most uncultivated of all instruments; one often believes one hears only a harp, and I am glad that you are one of the few who understand and feel that, if one can feel, one can also sing on the Klavier. I hope the time will come when the harp and the Klavier will become two totally different instruments."[14]

I suggest that Beethoven was not here criticising arpeggiation practices, rather he was comparing the plucked sounds of the harp with the semi-detached (non-legato) articulation which was seemingly a feature of the playing style of previous generations of keyboard players. In this regard, Czerny relayed that Beethoven found Mozart's playing to be delicate but featuring a chopped touch with no legato, which perplexed Beethoven as he himself was accustomed to playing the piano like the organ.[15] Brown warns that "[l]ittle weight" should be apportioned to Czerny's statement, and that Mozart's piano playing is likely to have been characterised by "fully legato performance and a range of more or less non-legato articulation".[16] The 'choppy' style of playing in this period has been linked to the slight and rapid drawing in of the fingers, a clavichord technique known as *schnellen*.[17] It is interesting to note that in his 1828 *Anweisung*, the pianist Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837) (who studied with Mozart) alludes to the *schnellen* technique as being appropriate to the treatment of Viennese-action pianos:

14 "[E]s ist gewiß, die Art das Klawier zu spielen, ist noch die unkultiwirteste von allen Instrumenten bisher, man glaubt oft nur eine Harfe zu hören, und ich freue mich lieber, daß sie von den wenigen sind, die einsehen und fühlen, daß man auf dem Klawier auch singe[n] könne, sobald man nur fühlen kan[n], ich hoffe die Zeit wird kommen, wo die Harfe und das Klawier zwei ganz verschiedene Instrumente seyn werden." Letter to Johann Andreas Streicher [possibly August/September 1796], in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 1, p. 32. English: Tilman Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, Cambridge 2010, p. 72, see also ibid., pp. 72–74.

15 Carl Czerny to Otto Jahn in 1852, in Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, p. 245.

16 Clive Brown: Reading Between the Lines. The Notation and Performance of Mozart's Chamber Music with Keyboard, in: *Mozart's Chamber Music with Keyboard*, ed. by Martin Harlow, Cambridge 2012, pp. 235–264, here p. 262. Brown cites a letter of 1781 in which Mozart criticised Josepha Auernhammer's lack of "the true delicate singing style" in cantabile playing due to her cutting everything short.

17 Menno van Delft: *Schnellen*. A Quintessential Articulation Technique in Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Playing, in: *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed. by Christopher Hogwood, Cambridge 2009, pp. 187–197. See also Yae-Ji (Esther) Kim: *The Clavichord During the Classical Era. A Gentle Voice but a Giant Among Keyboards*, PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2014.

> "Therefore, these instruments need to be treated according to their properties, they allow neither a violent banging and tapping of the keys with the whole weight of the arm, nor a clumsy attack; the power of the sound must be produced solely by the swiftness of the fingers. [...] For the hands of men, choose instruments that are not too shallow, or, as the saying goes, too flat at the touch."[18]

In contrast to Mozart, Czerny advised that Beethoven soon developed a touch which seemingly produced a predominantly legato and singing style.[19] It stands to reason, however, that Beethoven (who learned the clavichord in his formative years and probably continued to play it at least in private) made use of *schnellen* to some extent.[20]

Returning to the question of piano arpeggiation, another point for consideration is the advice on piano playing by Andreas Streicher. In his *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano* (1801), Streicher gives insightful details about the correct mode of attack and touch on Viennese-action pianos,[21] in order to attain a successful tone, and also to make the melody stand out from the accompaniment. It is notable that he did not criticise the use of arpeggiation.

Indeed, certain counsel from Beethoven's close circle might suggest that he disdained any unauthorised changes to the notation of his compositions. Not two decades after Beethoven's death, Czerny explained in the 1846 *Supplement* (the 4th part) to his *Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500 (1839) that for Beethoven and "classical authors" in general, "the player must by no means [...] alter the composition, nor [...] make any addition or abbreviation." Furthermore, attempts "to employ the sixth octave" by adding notes in works written for a five-octave instrument, "is always unfavorable". Likewise, the addition of "all embellishments, turns, shakes" and so on not indicated by the composer are superfluous no matter how tasteful.[22]

18 "Diese Instrumente wollen daher ihren Eigenschaften behandelt sein, sie erlauben weder ein heftiges Anstossen und Klopfen der Tasten mit ganzer Schwere des Armes, noch einen schwerfälligen Anschlag; die Kraft des Tones muss allein durch die Schnellkraft der Finger hervorgebracht werden. [...] Für Männerhände wähle man solche Instrumente, die nicht zu seicht oder, wie man auch sagt, zu flach im Anschlag sind." Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1828, Vol. 3, p. 439. All translations by the author, if not otherwise stated.

19 Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, p. 243.

20 For further discussion of this see Kim: *The Clavichord*, pp. 3–12 and 55–68.

21 Andreas Streicher: *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano*, Vienna 1801, translated as *Brief Remarks on the Playing, Tuning and Care of Fortepianos Made in Vienna by Nannette Streicher née Stein*, ed. by Preethi de Silva, Ann Arbor 1983.

22 "Beim Vortrage seiner Werke, (und überhaupt bei allen klassischen Autoren) darf der Spieler sich durchaus keine Änderung der Composition[,] keinen Zusatz, keine Abkürzung erlauben. Auch bei jenen Clavierstücken, welche in früherer Zeit für die damaligen 5-octavigen Instrumente geschrieben wurden, ist der Versuch, durch Zusätze die 6ste Octave zu benützen, stets ungünstig ausgefallen, so wie auch alle, an sich noch so geschmackvoll scheinenden Verzierungen, Mordente, Triller, etc. welche nicht der Autor selber andeutete, mit Recht überflüssig erscheinen." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst*

Czerny's reference to "all embellishments" (which would presumably also include arpeggiation practices) is of relevance here. Yet it is imperative to consider the context in which he formulated such advice. As James Parakilas has explained in detail, Czerny's advice was seemingly in reaction to Beethoven's harsh criticism of his "frivolity of youth," Czerny's supposed liberties in ornamenting Beethoven's Quintet for Piano and Winds Op. 16 in 1812 (more likely 1816) in the presence of the composer.[23] As Parakilas surmises, the incident demonstrates that despite Beethoven's remonstration, Czerny's practice of embellishing Beethoven's text was "a routine performance practice of Beethoven's day".[24] In this respect Brown explains that Beethoven's annoyance was likely to have "concerned the nature of the changes rather than the presence of ornamentation as such". Czerny "simply went too far on that occasion."[25]

It is also important to acknowledge that in the *Pianoforte-Schule* Czerny was addressing "youthful talent, with the wish that they may avail themselves of it [his treatise], to ensure a well-grounded, and at the same time, easy, and rapid acquirement of an agreeable, widely-spread, and honourable art".[26] His aim was, therefore, to help student pianists to develop a 'correct' performance style, the solid basis on which to become a finished artist able to imbue a work with the "spirit and peculiar humour" of its composer in a 'beautiful' style, drawing upon vernacular and idiosyncratic expressive practices.[27] There is no reason to suppose that Czerny expected finished artists to be bound by the rules of 'correct' performance. More importantly, Czerny had no compunction in making changes (including the annotation of arpeggio signs) to Beethoven's texts in the 1846 *Supplement*. As George Barth has argued, Czerny was to some extent modernising Beet-

des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-Schule op. 500, Vienna [1846], p. 34. English: Carl Czerny: *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Pianoforte Works. Being a Supplement to the Royal Pianoforte School* Op. 500, trans. by John Bishop, London [1846], p. 32.

23 James Parakilas: Playing Beethoven His Way. Czerny and the Canonization of Performance Practice, in: *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity. Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester 2008, pp. 108–124, here p. 111.

24 Ibid., p. 112.

25 Brown: Czerny the Progressive, p. 26.

26 "[…] widme ich dasselbe hiemit den jugendlichen Talenten mit dem Wunsche, dasselbe zur gründlicheren und zugleich erleichterten und schnellern Erlernung einer angenehmen, weit verbreiteten und ehrenvollen Kunst mit Fleiss und Aufmerksamkeit zu benutzen". Carl Czerny: *Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, Wien 1839, Vol. 1, p. 4. English: Carl Czerny: *Complete Theoretical-Practical Piano Forte School* […] Op. 500, trans. by James Alexander Hamilton, London 1839, Vol. 1, p. 2.

27 "[…] jener Geist und eigenthümliche Humor". Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 32. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 30. For detailed discussion about 'correct' and 'beautiful' performance see Peres Da Costa: Performance Practices for Romantic and Modern Repertoire, pp. 356–358.

hoven in accordance with changing tastes.[28] For in Czerny's own words, "even the mental conception" of Beethoven's works had by 1846 acquired "a different value through the altered taste of the time, and must occasionally be expressed by other means, than were then demanded."[29] Nevertheless and given the strength of evidence discussed below, it is highly unlikely that Czerny's explanation here applies to the practice of un-notated arpeggiation.[30]

Un-notated arpeggiation: both vernacular and idiosyncratic For trained pianists in the long nineteenth century, un-notated arpeggiation – both chordal arpeggiation and the related practice of separating melody from accompaniment through manual asynchrony – was an indispensable tool in rendering a rhetorically-expressive interpretation.[31] While there is so far no direct evidence that Beethoven used these practices in the performance of his works for or involving the piano, it has already been shown that their use was ubiquitous across major European centres during the era.[32] Moreover, at least some idea of Beethoven's general expectations in this regard can be gleaned from the advice of musicians he knew, respected, taught, or who were connected with Vienna. There is also a wealth of information in pedagogical sources which were in circulation before and after Beethoven's lifetime that are important to consider.[33]

Beethoven's admiration for C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* (1753), which he used in teaching Czerny, needs no discussion here. For Bach the constituents of a 'good' performance style included "the loudness and softness of the notes, their accentuation, Schnellen [a clavichord technique – see above], portamento, staccato, vibrato, *arpeggiation*, sustaining, holding back, [and] pushing forward." He insisted that "[w]hoever either does not use these things *at all* or who uses them at the wrong time has a bad performance

28 George Barth: *The Pianist as Orator*, Ithaca 1992. See also Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, p. 43. See also Brown: Czerny the Progressive, pp. 16–18.

29 "[…] selbst die geistige Auffassung erhält durch den veränderten Zeitgeschmack eine and're Geltung, und muss bisweilen durch and're Mittel ausgedrückt werden, als damals erforderlich waren." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 34. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 32. See also Brown: Czerny the Progressive, p. 18.

30 See also Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, p. 43.

31 Note that in *Off the Record*, I felt it prudent to classify these as separate but related techniques. Since that publication in 2012 I have concluded that both may just as well be classified under the term un-notated arpeggiation.

32 See Anselm Gerhard: Willkürliches Arpeggieren. Ein selbstverständliches Ausdrucksmittel in der klassisch-romantischen Klaviermusik und seine Tabuisierung im 20. Jahrhundert, in: *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 27 (2003), pp. 123–134. See also Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 41–187.

33 See Marten Noorduin: Transcending Slowness in Beethoven's Late Style, in: *Manchester Beethoven Studies*, ed. by Barry Cooper and Matthew Pilcher, Manchester 2023, pp. 214–243, here pp. 216 f.

style."[34] Bach's use of the word "arpeggiation" surely conceals the multitude of ways in which keyboard players utilised notated and un-notated arpeggiation for expressive purposes. Sophisticated keyboardists would have developed all manner of arpeggiation shapes (upwards, downwards, notes in different order) and timings, to effect particular expression and texture, and to emphasise important notes (including those sounding in the middle of chords or as hidden voices).

Several German sources leading up to Beethoven's lifetime advised on arpeggiation. C. P. E. Bach gave particular signs for upward and downward arpeggiation including with an acciaccatura (added dissonant note), and he also recommended that when the word arpeggio appeared over [presumably next to] long notes, the arpeggiation was to be made several times alternately upwards and downwards.[35] This practice of breaking chords up and down had been in existence for quite some time. Roger North mentioned it around 1700,[36] and it is likely to have originated from earlier clavichord and harpsichord playing.

In 1755 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718–1795), in his *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*, also gave signs for arpeggiation upwards, downwards, and with the addition of slides, snapped mordents, appoggiaturas, and gruppetti (groups of notes).[37] Evidently, Marpurg's signs were borrowed from the ornament table in Book 1 of Jean-Henri d'Anglebert's (1629–1691) *Pièces de clavecin* (1689).[38] In the first edition of his *Clavier-Schule* (1765), Georg Simon Löhlein (1725–1781) also gave particular signs for upward and downward arpeggiation, including with acciaccature.[39] The work had a long shelf life making it to eight editions; the latest, dated circa 1825, was expanded with examples and complete appendix for the figured bass by Czerny.[40] Through the course of these various editions, advice on arpeggio signs are somewhat expanded. Significantly, the circa 1825 edition states: "All types of breaking are expressed with the word arpeggio",[41] which points to the

34 "Die Gegenstände des Vortrages sind die Stärcke und Schwäche der Töne, ihr Druck, Schnellen, Ziehen, Stossen, Beben, *Brechen*, Halten, Schleppen und Fortgehen. Wer diese Dinge entweder *gar nicht* oder zur unrechten Zeit gebrauchet, der hat einen schlechten Vortrag." Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu spielen*, [Part 1], Berlin 1753, p. 117. My italics.

35 Ibid., p. 128.

36 See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, p. 117.

37 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen*, Berlin 1755, pp. 59 f. These instructions were repeated verbatim in the 2nd edition 1765.

38 See Elizabeth Loretta Hays: *F. W. Marpurg's Anleitung zum Clavierspielen (Berlin, 1755) and Principes du clavecin (Berlin, 1756). Translation and Commentary*, PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1976, Chapter 10, pp. 82–85.

39 Georg Simon Löhlein: *Clavier-Schule*, Leipzig/Züllichau 1765, p. 70.

40 August Eberhard Müller: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule. Achte Auflage*, ed. by Carl Czerny, Leipzig [ca 1825].

41 "Alle Arten der Brechung werden mit dem Worte arpeggio ausgedrückt." Müller: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule*, p. 31.

variety of arpeggiations that were in use during the era, probably including the practice of arpeggiating several times up and down when the word arpeggio was appended to chords of long value (see C. P. E. Bach's advice above). It is reasonable to assume that this means of filling in texture on pianos that did not have a long sustain would also be applied in the absence of the word. Yet, in the mid-nineteenth century, the practice was recommended also on pianos with longer sustain. With reference to J. S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* BWV 903 in 1848, Adolf Bernhard Marx mentioned an oral tradition that promoted this practice:

> "When we wish to emphasise particular chords even in our full sounding instruments we do not play the notes exactly together, but rather in a quick arpeggio, whilst holding down all the keys [see Figure 1a]; on the weaker sounding instruments of Bach's time, this method of playing must have been even more necessary – perhaps with an even slower arpeggiation, possibly also descending again to freshen those notes which had faded [see Figure 1b]."[42]

FIGURE 1 Adolph Bernhard Marx's explanation of the arpeggiation of chords of long duration in Bach's *Chromatic Fantasy* BWV 903

As late as 1918, the *Klavier-Lexikon* by Walter Niemann mentioned this type of arpeggiation practice (notably not indicated by a sign) labelling it as an older ornament (Figures 2 and 3).[43]

FIGURES 2 AND 3 Walter Niemann's explanation of the arpeggiation of chords of long duration

42 "Schon auf unseren klangvollen Instrumenten geben wir Akkorde, die mächtig hervortreten sollen, nicht mit genau gleichzeitigem Anschlag an, sondern in reissend schneller Brechung, unter Festhalten aller Töne [...]; bei den klangarmen Instrumenten der bach'schen Zeit muss diese Spielweise – und vielleicht langsamere Brechung, vielleicht selbst ein theilweises Zurückgehen, um die verklungenen Töne wieder anzufrischen – noch viel nothwendiger gewesen sein." Adolf Bernhard Marx: Seb. Bach's chromatische Fantasie. Einige Bemerkungen, in: *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 50 (1848), cols. 33–41, here cols. 36 f. (footnote). See also Gerhard: Willkürliches Arpeggieren, p. 125, and Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 114–117.

43 Walter Niemann: *Klavier-Lexikon*, Leipzig [4]1918, p. 46.

Evidence that arpeggiation could take place with or without designated signs is found in a little-known publication by the German composer Georg Friedrich Wolf (1761–1814) entitled *Unterricht im Klavierspielen* (3rd edition 1789; 4th edition 1799). In his brief discussion of arpeggiation Wolf states: "But since one can strike the notes from above downwards and upwards from below, there are also special signs for this; but this is very seldom clearly indicated, and is mostly left to the player's discretion."[44]

The sources above show that by the time Beethoven was making a name for himself as a composer and pianist, arpeggiation practices were many and varied, but it is probable that only the most common methods were codified. We can presume that Beethoven, who initially learned both clavichord and harpsichord, was fully conversant with both codified and uncodified practices. And there is no reason to assume that he abandoned these when he took up the rising star of keyboard instruments, the pianoforte.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, composers had adopted various signs to indicate arpeggiation. For example, see Johann Baptist Cramer's (1771–1858) advice (ca 1812) about three interchangeable arpeggio signs (Figure 4). But their appearance in printed music was sporadic at best, often it seems for didactic purposes. The pianist Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), much admired by Beethoven, explained in his *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano-Forte* (1803) that the arpeggio sign "signifies, that the notes must be played successively, from the lowest; with more or less velocity, as the sentiment may require; keeping each note down 'till the time of the chord be filled up."[45] Quite obviously, this rather basic explanation could not and was not expected to encapsulate the variety of ways in which arpeggiation could be effected (see above). Unsurprisingly, he makes no mention of arpeggiation when not notated, as it was most likely a normal and expected practice, part of the vernacular. Comparison between two editions of his Piano Sonatas Op. 7 is revealing in this respect. The 1782 Viennese edition is devoid of arpeggio signs. But Clementi troubled to add them from time to time in the 1784 London edition,[46] no doubt as instruction for the growing amateur market there. While it is eye-opening to see that he expected arpeggiation in places not indicated in the Viennese edition, his notation will not reflect the frequency of arpeggiation that trained pianists are likely to have employed in these and other works.[47]

44 "Da man aber die Töne von oben herunter und von unten hinauf anschlagen kan, so gibts auch dazu besondere Zeichen; doch wird dies sehr selten bestimt angezeigt, und mehrentheils dem Gutbefinden des Spielers überlassen." Georg Friedrich Wolf: *Unterricht im Klavierspielen*, 3rd edition, Halle 1789, Vol. 1, p. 33. The same explanation appeared in the 4th edition (1799), p. 36.

45 Muzio Clementi: *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano-Forte*, London [1803], Vol. 1, p. 9.

46 See also Gerhard: Willkürliches Arpeggieren, pp. 125–127.

47 For example, comparison between Carl Reinecke's published arrangements of the two middle movements from Mozart's Piano Concertos K. 488 and K. 537 and his own performances preserved on piano

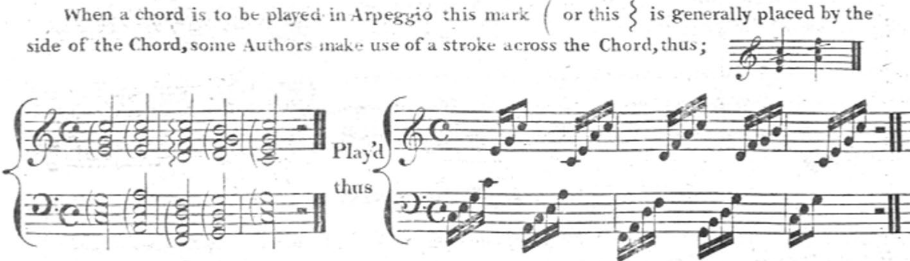


Figure 4 Johann Baptist Cramer's advice about arpeggio signs (Instructions for the Piano Forte, London [ca 1812], p. 42)

By the early nineteenth century, references to un-notated arpeggiation practices proliferate. In 1804, the French pianist Louis Adam (1758–1848), considered by Beethoven to be the best in Paris,[48] gave a musical example entitled "To connect the chords" ("Pour lier les Accords") showing a succession of arpeggiated chords to be played in the right hand in which "the upper notes form a melody". In such cases he advised that arpeggiation "is almost always necessary", presumably to effect connection (legato).[49] A few years later in 1812, Johann Baptist Cramer, a pupil of Clementi's and a pianist with whom Beethoven had close contact, instructed that chords could be played in two ways: 1) "in an abrupt manner striking all the Notes at once, which is done chiefly at the end of a piece or sentence"; and, 2) "In Arpeggio sounding successively the Notes of which the chord is composed". He repeated Clementi's instructions about holding down the notes for the full value of the chord and the variation of arpeggiation speed according to character.[50] The strong inference here is that arpeggiation was generally expected to be employed, apart from the final chord of a work or a phrase.

By the end of Beethoven's life, the notation of arpeggio signs and other ornaments had steadily increased. In his 1828 *Anweisung*, Hummel, a pianist whom Beethoven knew well in Vienna and came to respect greatly, gave much the same explanation for the interpolation of arpeggio signs as Clementi and Cramer.[51] But Hummel additionally makes it clear that un-notated arpeggiation was a normal and expected practice at least in Vienna. He explains that on "German (or so-called Viennese) pianos [...] Full chords,

rolls demonstrates the extraordinary difference between his notation and his practice with regards to arpeggiation. See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 84–87 and 159–162. See also id.: Carl Reinecke's Performance, pp. 127–145.

48 According to the dedication of his *Kreutzer* Sonata for Piano and Violin Op. 47.

49 "Dans une suite d'accords ou les notes aigues forment un chant, il faut presque toujours arpéger les accords." Louis Adam: *Méthode de piano du Conservatoire*, Paris [1804], p. 61.

50 Cramer: *Instructions*, p. 42.

51 See Hummel: *Anweisung*, Vol. 1, p. 64.

for example, are mostly broken quickly and are far more effective thus than if the notes were played together with the same degree of strength."[52]

A decade after Beethoven's death, Czerny explained in his *Pianoforte-Schule* that un-notated arpeggiation was practised to the extent that many pianists "become unable to strike full chords or even double notes firmly and at once; though this latter way is the general rule, while the former constitutes the exception." He went on to explain however that this exception (namely un-notated arpeggiation) "may so frequently be employed with effect, that we have here only to determine in what cases the one is more suitable than the other", and he followed this with detailed rules (many more than other writers had given).[53] Furthermore, in the *Supplement* to Op. 500, Czerny criticised a "modern style" in which arpeggiation was invariably used to the extent "that many pianists have almost forgotten how to strike chords firmly."[54] Seemingly, this style continued on into the second half of the century.

The Viennese-born pianist Ernst Pauer (1826–1905) who was well-acquainted with Viennese traditions said much the same as Czerny. In *The Art of Pianoforte Playing* (1877) he was critical of a "modern tendency" in which arpeggiation "has become so generally diffused, that some performers seem to consider firm chords altogether obsolete."[55] Un-notated arpeggiation was neither new nor modern by this time, but Czerny and Pauer were clearly trying to stem a habit, seemingly on the rise.[56] Elsewhere, Pauer explained that "playing chords in the *arpeggiando* manner where firm chords are indicated" was a frequent fault in piano playing.[57] But, despite the negative impression this gives, Pauer, like Czerny, was not against un-notated arpeggiation *per se*. His aim in producing this publication was to help student pianists form "the basis of a good, solid, and correct execution." Indeed, he included chords both "firm and broken" as "essential

52 "[…] der deutsche (sogenannte Wiener [Mechanismus]). Volle Akkorde werden z. B. meist ganz rasch gebrochen vorgetragen, und wirken so weit mehr, als wenn die Töne zusammen auf einmal noch so stark angeschlagen werden." Hummel: *Anweisung*, Vol. 3, pp. 438 f.

53 "[…] dass sie gar nicht mehr im Stande sind, vollgriffige Accorde, oder auch nur Doppelnoten, vollkommen fest und auf einmal anzuschlagen. Und doch ist das letztere die Regel, während das Erstere die Ausnahme bildet. Indessen kann die Ausnahme (nämlich das Arpeggio) so häufig mit Wirkung angewendet werden, dass wir hier nur zu bestimmen haben, wo das Eine besser als das andere an seinem Platze ist." Carl Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, pp. 40 f. English: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, pp. 55 f. See also Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 117–121.

54 "Im modernen Spiel werden alle mehrstimmigen Sätze jetzt immer arpeggirt vorgetragen, und zwar so sehr, dass viele Pianisten den festen Anschlag der Accorde etc. beinahe ganz verlernt haben." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 159. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 157.

55 Ernst Pauer: *The Art of Pianoforte Playing*, London/New York 1877, p. 46.

56 See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 106–125.

57 Pauer: *The Art of Pianoforte Playing*, p. 70.

constituents of an efficient and artistic performance".[58] His (like Czerny's) seemingly stern advice was no doubt aimed at stemming the unconscious, incorrect, indiscriminate, or invariable use of arpeggiation by students. For Pauer, chords with notes played firmly (together) expressed "determination, strength, and earnestness", while those arpeggiated expressed "softness, languor, despondency, and irresolution."[59]

While Czerny and Pauer appear to be critical of the incorrect and/or overuse of un-notated arpeggiation, Sigismond Thalberg (1812–1871), a pianist in Beethoven's wider circle, enthusiastically supported it. In his *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano* Op. 70 (1853), he recommended that chords which support a melody in the highest note "should always be played in arpeggio fashion, but very tight and almost together, and the note of the melody more expressively than the other notes of the chord."[60] He also recommended the judicious use of manual asynchrony, sounding the melody note "imperceptibly" after the bass note particularly in a slow melody written in notes of long duration. This would produce a good effect especially on the downbeats of each measure or the start of a period or phrase.[61] In the early twentieth century, the Polish-born pianist Theodor Leschetizky, who studied with Czerny in Vienna, continued to encourage the use of un-notated arpeggiation (both the arpeggiation of chords and manual asynchrony) in his teaching, elucidated by his teaching assistant Malwine Brée in *Die Grundlage der Methode Leschetizky* (1902), and he used it frequently and to great expressive effect in his performance of works by Mozart and Chopin as evidenced on piano rolls.[62]

The importance of arpeggiation as an expressive device in mid-nineteenth-century piano playing is evident in pedagogical advice appended to Etudes (studies) that promote the means to achieve it successfully. For example, in their *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Klavierschule* (1858), Sigmund Lebert (1822–1884) and Ludwig Stark (1831–1884) give two Etudes: 1) for arpeggiation of chords in slow tempo advising that "[t]he fingers must be struck from the bottom up, equally spaced apart, and then held for the duration of each individual chord. The right hand enters immediately after the left in the same space as the individual fingers";[63] and, 2) for arpeggiation of chords in fast tempo advising that

58 Ibid., p. 3.

59 Ibid., p. 46.

60 "Les accords qui porteront un chant à la note supérieure devront toujours s'arpéger, mais très-serrés, presque plaqués, et la note de chant plus appuyée que les autres notes de l'accord." Sigismond Thalberg: *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano* Op. 70, Paris 1853, series 1, p. [2].

61 "[…] d'attaquer le chant après la basse, mais seulement avec un retard presque imperceptible." Ibid.

62 See Malwine Brée: *Die Grundlage der Methode Leschetizky*, Vienna 1902, trans. as *The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method*, trans. by Theodor H. Baker, New York 1902, pp. 72 f. See also Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 52 f. and 103–105.

63 "Die Finger müssen von unten herauf in gleichen Zwischenräumen nach einander angeschlagen werden und dann für die Dauer jedes einzelnen Accordes liegen bleiben. Die rechte Hand tritt

"[b]oth hands must join in and stop at the same time, but the fingers, as in the preceding etude, also remain on the ground for each individual chord, with the tones following one another at equal intervals."[64]

During Beethoven's lifetime, the arpeggio or broken style was also associated with certain musical signs. Adam explained that *portato* or slurred staccato, in addition to implying note length, could sometimes indicate "a little delay" of the melody note.[65] In the same vein, Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), who greatly impressed Beethoven with his abilities as both pianist and composer, explained in 1827 that double notes and chords marked *portato* "should be struck very slightly [presumably quickly] in the Arpeggio manner, giving them the same length of time as a dot under a slur requires."[66] Significantly, both of these practices are preserved on the piano rolls of the oldest pianist to have recorded, Carl Reinecke. Arpeggiation was also associated with musical words and expressions. In 1810, Philip Antony Corri (1784–1832) explained that at the appearance of terminology such as "con espressione, con Anima, or Dolce" (implying that this would apply to other terms), arpeggiation was to be "particularly and often used, and made as long [presumably as slow] as possible."[67] Notably, arpeggiation was recommended for music of an energetic or a spirited nature, a matter also discussed (see below) in the mid-century by the violinist Charles-Auguste de Bériot (1802–1870).

It is significant that the oldest generation of pianists – Reinecke, Leschetizky, and Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921) – as well as the following generation made use of both chordal arpeggiation and manual asynchrony frequently and effectively in works of the Classical- and Romantic-era composers, including Beethoven (as evidenced on piano rolls, acoustic and electrical recordings). This is supported in anecdotal evidence by the German-born English pianist Oscar Beringer (1844–1922), one time a student of both

unmittelbar im nämlichen Zwischenraume wie die einzelnen Finger, nach der linken ein." Sigmund Lebert/Ludwig Stark: *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Klavierschule für den systematischen Unterricht*, Stuttgart 1858, Vol. 2, p. 212.

64 "Beide Hände müssen zugleich eintreten und aufhören, die Finger aber, wie bei der vorhergehenden Etude, bei jedem einzelnen Accorde ebenfalls liegen bleiben, mit Aufeinanderfolge der Töne in gleichem Zwischenraum." Ibid.

65 "[…] cette manière de détacher ajoute beaucoup à l'expression du chant, et se fait quelquefois avec un petit retard de la note qu'on veut exprimer ainsi." Adam: *Méthode*, p. 156. See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 70 f.

66 "Wenn daher die Doppelnoten oder Accorde zugleich mit Punkten und Bogen bezeichnet sind, so muss man sie zart in arpeggirender Manier und mit derselben Geltung angeben, welche das Staccato unter einem Bindungszeichen erfordert." Ignaz Moscheles: *Studien für das Pianoforte*, Leipzig 1827, p. 9. English: Ignaz Moscheles: *Studies for the Piano Forte* Op. 70, London 1827, Vol. 1, p. 6. See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 111 f.

67 Philip Antony Corri: *L'anima di musica*, London [1810], p. 77.

Moscheles and Reinecke, who described aspects of Clara Schumann's (1819–1896) pianism: "One fault she [Schumann] had, which nearly all her contemporaries shared, and which was no doubt due to the thin tone of the pianos of the period, the fault of arpeggiing nearly all her chords."[68] Given his pedigree, it is somewhat surprising that Beringer regarded un-notated arpeggiation as a fault. Evidently, he was among those pianists who moved with the modernist tide against the practice. Imagine how Beethoven's *Appassionata* Sonata might have sounded (with frequent arpeggiation) in the hands of the 18-year old Clara when she performed it in Vienna, inspiring the Viennese poet Franz Grillparzer to write a poem in January 1838 entitled *Clara Wieck und Beethoven*!

One could cite much more, but the select evidence given above shows beyond doubt that un-notated arpeggiation was already employed during Beethoven's lifetime and was continued for a significant period afterwards.[69]

Reimagining Beethoven's arpeggiation practices Assuming, then, that Beethoven made un-notated arpeggiations in his piano sonatas, piano concertos, chamber music with piano, and piano improvisations, how might we begin to understand his expectations for its use? One way could be to study Beethoven's own arpeggio markings as exemplars for their application in similar places. Otto Klauwell (1851–1917), a pianist who studied with Reinecke, recommended this procedure in 1883.[70] It was also demonstrated by the pianist Hans von Bülow (1830–1894) in his instructive edition of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 109. In the first movement, Von Bülow added arpeggio signs in bars 9/10.[71] In this respect, Brown's observation about the ornamental nature of arpeggios is particularly pertinent: "As with all such ornaments in this period, there is no reason to think that composers troubled to mark every place where they might have expected, or been happy to have heard arpeggiation, or that they specified every aspect of its performance."[72]

Another way is to consider the annotated arpeggio signs in Beethoven's piano music by musicians (editors) who were closely connected with the composer or Vienna, and who

68 Oscar Beringer: *Fifty Years' Experience of Pianoforte Teaching and Playing*, London 1907, p. 22.

69 I have provided a brief summary of how chordal arpeggiation and manual asynchrony might be applied to Beethoven's piano parts and the resulting effects in: Brown/Peres Da Costa: Performing Practice Commentary, pp. 5–7.

70 Otto Klauwell: *Der Vortrag in der Musik. Versuch einer systematischen Begründung desselben zunächst rücksichtlich des Klavierspiels*, Berlin/Leipzig 1883, p. 101. English: Otto Klauwell: *On Musical Execution. An Attempt at a Systematic Exposition of the Same Primarily with Reference to Piano-Playing*, New York 1890, p. 110.

71 Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 109, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works*, ed. by Hans von Bülow, Stuttgart/Berlin [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 5, pp. 75–96, here p. 75. See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, p. 157.

72 Brown: *Classical and Romantic*, p. 610.

are most likely to have had first-hand knowledge of his practices. An obvious source is Czerny's *Supplement* to his Op. 500 in which he sought to elucidate "all the ways of playing and peculiarities of the modern school" so that students "may keep pace with the advance of the art."[73]

Czerny's annotations of arpeggio in select works by Beethoven

Third Piano Concerto Op. 37 Czerny annotated arpeggio signs before the half-note chords in bars 118/119 in the opening piano solo section of the first movement from Beethoven's Piano Concerto in c minor Op. 37 (Figure 5).[74] These chords (marked *piano* by Beethoven) come as a complete contrast to and relief after the drama of the rambunctious upward rising scales (bars 111–113) followed by the stark, accented treatment of the main theme in double octaves (bars 114–117). It is probable that Beethoven expected these chords to be arpeggiated noticeably (fairly slowly), to fill out the texture. In this respect Klauwell advised that arpeggiation in cases such as these could help "the attainment of greater breadth in the development of its [the chord's] harmonic mass."[75] It is noteworthy

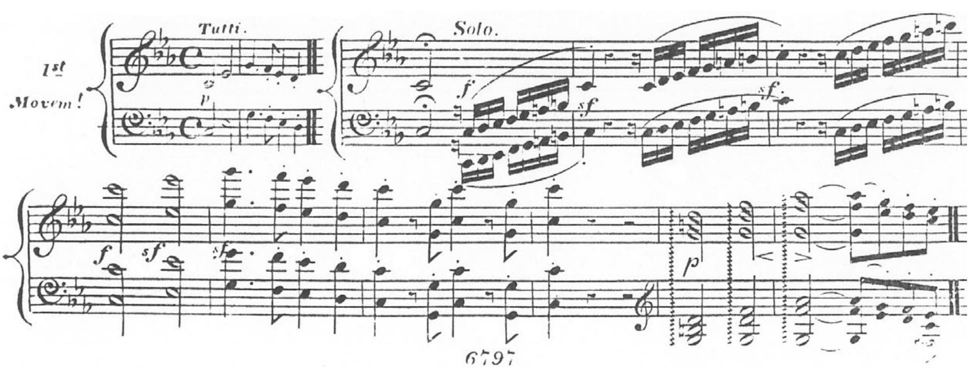


FIGURE 5 Czerny's annotation of arpeggio in Beethoven's 3rd Piano Concerto, first movement, bars 111–119 (*Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 108. English: *The Art of Playing*, p. 106)

73 "[…] alle Eigenthümlichkeiten und Spielweisen der modernen Schule […], damit die Studirenden mit der fortschreitenden Kunst stets auf gleicher Höhe bleiben". Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 3. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 1.

74 Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 108. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 106. A demonstration of these arpeggiated chords can be heard on my recording on fortepiano in a chamber arrangement of this concerto in: *Beethoven Piano Concertos 1 & 3* with the Australian Haydn Ensemble (2017), accessible on YouTube, Apple Music, and Spotify.

75 "Der nächstliegende offenbare Zweck eines arpeggirt gespielten Akkordes ist die Erzielung einer grösseren Breite der durch ihn dargestellten Klangmasse." Klauwell: *Der Vortrag in der Musik*, p. 101. English: Klauwell: *On Musical Execution*, p. 111.

that Czerny added < > for the chord on the first beat in bar 119, which, for a nineteenth-century pianist, may have carried implications for agogic accentuation.[76]

Fourth Piano Concerto Op. 58 Czerny annotated an arpeggio sign before the first chord of the first movement from Beethoven's G major Piano Concerto Op. 58 (Figure 6). Pianist Paul Badura-Skoda judged this as "curious" since it was neither in Beethoven's corrected copy nor the first edition.[77] But in the case of this arpeggio sign and those in the Third Piano Concerto (see above), it seems clear that Czerny was preserving either Beethoven's own practice as he remembered it or one that was commonly heard during the era. Beethoven gave *piano* and *dolce* at the head of this movement; we are reminded, here, of the connection that Corri made between expressive words such as *dolce*, and slow and noticeable arpeggiation (see above). Clearly, the slow arpeggiation of this chord (perhaps even up and down repeatedly) would help to sustain its sound, filling out the texture, as prescribed by Czerny himself.[78]

Indeed, Beethoven might have expected more frequent arpeggiation in the opening five-bar sequence of this concerto. For example, the second chord in bar 3, marked *sf* by Beethoven (which Czerny encapsulated within a double hairpin < >),[79] might be given

FIGURE 6 Czerny's annotation of arpeggio in Beethoven's 4th Piano Concerto, first movement, bars 1–5 (*Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 111. English: *The Art of Playing*, p. 109)

76 In specific relation to Beethoven's music see Clive Brown: Reading Between the Lines of Beethoven's Notation, in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin*, ed. by Clive Brown, Kassel 2020, Vol. 2, p. XVII. For further discussion about the meaning of hairpins see David Hyun-Su Kim: The Brahmsian Hairpin, in: *19th-Century Music* 36/1 (2012), pp. 46–57.

77 "Czernys Arpeggio im einleitenden Solo wirkt befremdend". Paul Badura-Skoda: Kommentar, in: *Carl Czerny. Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke*, ed. by id., Vienna 1963, p. 11. English: Paul Badura-Skoda: Commentary, in: *Carl Czerny. On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, ed. by id., Vienna 1970, p. 11.

78 Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, p. 56; for a fuller discussion about this chord see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 42–44.

79 See fn. 76.

particular expression through agogic accentuation in the manner recommended by Brée (in the *Leschetizky Method*), in which "the lower bass tone exactly coincides with the first beat, while the upper bass tone is struck together with the right-hand chord, producing an extremely slight retardation."[80] Alternatively, one might consider Klauwell's advice about accented chords marked *fortissimo* or *sforzando*: "a slight arpeggio is frequently desirable to soften the hardness of touch apt to arise". He adds that for "very abrupt dissonances" marked *sfz*, "all unpleasantness of effect without weakening its character" will become possible with "a very short arpeggio".[81] As for the chord on the first beat of bar 5, it seems clear from Czerny's rules that it would ordinarily have been arpeggiated, while the following chord unarpeggiated.[82]

Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 3 Czerny added a curved vertical line arpeggio sign (see Figure 4 above) to the double-note chord G2-B3 in the left hand in bar 3 of the first movement from Sonata Op. 2 No. 3 (Figure 7). For most pianists this interval is too wide to play with the notes absolutely together, so it is interesting to ponder why Czerny needed to mark it thus. Beethoven, in any case, gave the left-hand fingering 5-1, so, it is clear he expected both notes to be played with the left hand and must have envisaged an arpeggiation.[83] Perhaps Czerny marked the arpeggio sign to ensure that the upper note was not redistributed to the right hand as a means of effecting synchrony.

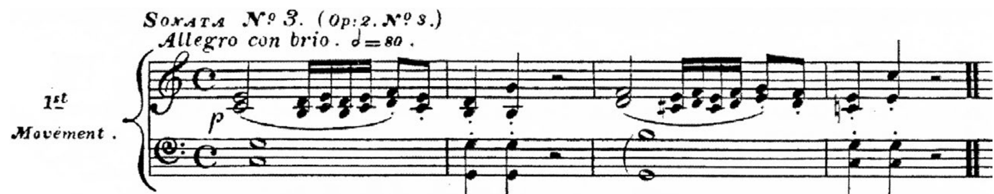


Figure 7 Czerny's annotation of arpeggio in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 3, first movement, bars 1–4 (*Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 38. English: *The Art of Playing*, p. 36)

80 "Die mit * bezeichnete Oktave wird arpeggiert und so genommen, dass der tiefere Grundton genau auf den 1. Taktteil kommt, während der obere Ton mit dem Akkord in der rechten Hand zugleich angeschlagen wird, wodurch eine minimale Verspätung eintritt." Brée: *Die Grundlage*, p. 70. English: Brée: *The Groundwork*, p. 70.

81 "Bei *ff* oder *sfz* anzuschlagenden Akkorden empfiehlt sich häufig ein geringes Arpeggiren, um die sonst leicht entstehende Härte des Anschlags dadurch zu mildern. […] Weiter möchte ich ein geringes Brechen eines Akkordes befürworten bei sehr schroffen und noch dazu *sfz* zu spielenden Dissonanzen, […] die durch das Arpeggiren das Unangenehme ihrer Wirkung verlier[en], ohne dadurch in ihrem Charakter beeinträchtigt zu werden." Klauwell: *Der Vortrag in der Musik*, pp. 102–104. English: Klauwell: *Musical Execution*, pp. 112–114.

82 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 41. English: Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

83 See Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata* 111 [1st edition], Vienna [ca 1796], p. 32.

Piano Sonata Op. 7 Czerny also annotated an arpeggio before the first chord of the third movement from Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 7, where, like the opening of the Fourth Piano Concerto, Beethoven indicated *piano* and *dolce* (Figure 8). Here, however, as Czerny explained, the chord would require a fast arpeggiation in line with the character of Beethoven's writing.[84]

FIGURE 8 Czerny's annotation of arpeggio in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 7, third movement, bars 1–4 (*Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 40. English: *The Art of Playing*, p. 38)

As far as I have ascertained, Czerny did not provide any other arpeggio annotations in Beethoven's works involving piano (solo, chamber, or concerto) in *The Art of Playing*. Why then did Czerny trouble to mark arpeggios in the few places discussed above? Given his detailed rules about un-notated arpeggiation,[85] it must be the case that he expected them to be added in many other places and according to the will of the individual. Perhaps, however, the places marked in *The Art of Playing* are those where he considered arpeggiation to be indispensable, to be executed very noticeably – often slowly, or even in unusual shapes or directions.

Potter's annotations of arpeggio in select works by Beethoven Further clues about the places where Beethoven might have entertained arpeggiation are found in various of his works for or involving the piano in a didactic edition (for students) by the English pianist and pedagogue Cipriani Potter (1792–1871) published in circa 1854.[86] Potter visited Vienna in 1818 to be in the presence of Beethoven, whose music inspired him immensely. According to Ferdinand Ries (Beethoven's friend and secretary), Beethoven very much liked Potter and thought favourably of him as a composer.[87] He advised Potter particularly in matters of composition. Potter helped Beethoven "assemble and adjust his Broadwood piano when at last it reached Vienna in 1818."[88]

84 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 41. English: Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

85 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, pp. 40 f. English: Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, pp. 55 f.

86 Potter was a piano teacher and the principal of the Royal Academy in London from 1832 to 1859. His early studies were with distinguished musicians including Thomas Attwood (1765–1838), himself a student of Mozart, William Crotch (1775–1847), and from 1805 with the Austrian pianist and composer Joseph Wölfl (1773–1812), with whom Potter gained technical mastery on the piano and a much-broadened knowledge of musical forms and style. See George Alexander Macfarren: Cipriani Potter. His Life and Work, in: *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 10 (1883/1884), pp. 41–56, here pp. 42 f.

87 Macfarren: Cipriani Potter, p. 45.

88 Nicholas Temperley: London and the Piano, 1760–1860, in: *The Musical Times* 129 (1988), pp. 289–293, here p. 292.

After his return to England, Potter was hailed for premiering many of Mozart's piano concertos as well as Beethoven's First, Third, and Fourth Piano Concertos between 1819 and 1836. In his "Recollections of Beethoven" (1836), Potter provided insights about the composer. It is unclear whether Potter ear-witnessed Beethoven's piano playing. Due to his much-deteriorated hearing by 1818, Beethoven no longer wished to play to anyone, not even his "most intimate friends." But Potter recounts (perhaps anecdotally), how Beethoven could sometimes be drawn to the piano in private:

> "These [friends] would at times succeed in their desire to get him to the instrument, by ingeniously starting a question in counterpoint; when he would unconsciously proceed to illustrate his theory; and then branching out into a train of thought, (forgetting his affliction) he would frequently pour out an extemporaneous effusion, of marvellous power and brilliancy."[89]

In 1818, Beethoven was working intensively on the *Hammerklavier* Sonata Op. 106, so Potter may have heard Beethoven play fragments of it during one of their meetings. At the very least, Potter undoubtedly ear-witnessed the latest pianistic practices while in Vienna.[90]

Given Potter's connection with Beethoven and Vienna his annotations in Beethoven's piano sonatas offer many insights. They are an important source of performing practice information.[91] In terms of arpeggio signs Potter used both the wavy line and the curved vertical line as denoted by Cramer in 1812 and Hummel in 1828 (see above).[92]

89 Cipriani Potter: Recollections of Beethoven, with Remarks on his Style, in: *Musical World*, 1836; repr. *The Musical Times* 10 (1861), pp. 150–157, here p. 152.

90 Indeed, that seems to have been his overall purpose as is made clear in the reminiscences of his pupil Macfarren (1813–1887): Potter's Continental sojourn was "as much for the purpose of study as for the sake of obtaining experience of other musical performances than were to be heard in London. At that time London was not, as it is now, the centre of all that is to be heard in music." Macfarren makes it clear that Potter keenly upheld Viennese practices after his return to London. "When Potter returned to England he again played at the Philharmonic, and the piece in which he made his reappearance was the Concerto of Mozart in D minor [K. 466]. He had learnt, perhaps in Vienna, and from the particular explanations of Attwood, who had witnessed Mozart's performance of his concertos, the fact that the printed copies are but indications [presumably meaning basic indications] of the matter which Mozart himself used to play, and he gathered from Attwood and others what was the manner in which Mozart used to amplify the written memoranda in his performance. It almost amounted to a re-composition of the part to fill it out with such pianoforte effects as would do justice to the original intention, and it was with such amplification that Potter presented the D minor Concerto." Macfarren: Cipriani Potter, pp. 44 and 46.

91 Note that Potter also provided arpeggio annotations in Mozart's piano sonatas. See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 149–151.

92 Elissa Miller-Kay has suggested that Potter used the curved vertical line to instruct where notes in chords should not be arpeggiated but aligned. She cites places in Op. 13 and various other sonatas where Potter marked a curved vertical line before chords for which "a loud and powerful accent is

Piano Sonata Op. 13 *Pathétique* In the opening Grave section of the first movement of the Sonata *Pathétique* Op. 13, Potter annotated arpeggio signs for the first chord on the first beat in bars 1 and 3 (Figure 9). Presumably, Potter expected a fairly swift arpeggio, perhaps "a *running Fire*" as described by Wesley (see above), to heighten the dramatic and brilliant effect of these chords which Beethoven marked ***fp***. In support of the connection between swift arpeggiation and brilliancy, one might consider advice by the Franco-Belgian violin pedagogue Charles de Bériot. With reference to chord playing on the piano, De Bériot explained that "many notes played together do not produce, overall, an effect as brilliant as when a small interval is put between them, however small the interval."[93] Additionally, Klauwell's advice about accented chords (see above) is relevant here. Potter quite possibly intended a similar effect for the two large ***ff*** chords in bars 294 and 295 which he annotated with arpeggio signs (Figure 10).

Notably, Potter did not mark an arpeggio before the chord at the beginning of bar 2 (Figure 9). He may have expected a contrasting effect here with the notes played together or, perhaps asynchrony with the left hand slightly before the right. Or, he may simply

required", explaining that this "would best be accomplished by a strong, simultaneous attack" (Elissa Miller-Kay: *The Virtuosity of Interpretation. The Performance History of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas in London*, 1800–1880, PhD dissertation, New York University 2016, pp. 185–190). But historical evidence cited in this chapter shows that quick arpeggiation was prescribed also for accented or loud chords. As far as is known Potter did not make a distinction between the two signs. A question arises, if one agrees with Miller-Kay: what did Potter intend where no signs are indicated? The two signs may have begun to develop divergent meanings later in the century. Miller-Kay references the advice of Mary Venable – an early-twentieth-century pedagogue: "The connecting vertical slur [...] shows clearly to the eye that a simultaneous attack of the tones is wished for, and the use of the slur also recognizes the pianistic impossibility of this. The notes are unavoidably struck one after another, but this should be done so quickly that all the tones sound as though played on the beat" (Mary Venable: *The Interpretation of Piano Music*, Boston 1913, p. 57). However, other evidence suggests that the two signs remained interchangeable. As Clive Brown has explained of the composer Edward Elgar: "In the current state of research there is no reason to believe that the two signs imply any difference of execution [...]. It is highly likely, however, that the composer's *arpeggio* markings were intended to indicate places where arpeggiation was absolutely necessary (perhaps also where a slower and more pronounced arpeggiation was envisaged), rather than to confine its use solely to those places." Edward Elgar: *Music for Violin*, ed. by Clive Brown, Rickmansworth 2007 (Elgar Complete Edition, Vol. 37), p. xvi. This may well have been Potter's attitude. I see no reasons to believe that Potter intended the two signs to have opposing meanings. Indeed, the fact that Potter marked a curved vertical line before the first chord of the first movement of Op. 13 and that his student William Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875) used a wavy line in an edition from circa 1850, provides confirmation that the two signs were interchangeable; it is possible but unlikely that Sterndale Bennett would have contradicted his teacher. Moreover, Sterndale Bennett being the younger musician, is more likely to have prescribed vertical alignment.

93 "En effet, il est à remarquer que sur le piano, par exemple, plusieurs notes frappées ensemble ne produisent pas à beaucoup près un effet aussi brillant qu'en mettant entr'elles un petit intervalle, quelque minime qu'il soit." Charles de Bériot: *Méthode de violon* Op. 102, Paris/Mainz 1858, Vol. 2, p. 86.

have intended the same arpeggiation as in bar 1 to continue. In this respect, it is probable that Potter's somewhat sporadic addition of arpeggio signs was not intended as absolute. Sometimes they were given to instruct students where arpeggios were absolutely necessary, and at others they were a reminder to the student to continue arpeggiating. For example, in the second Grave section of the first movement at bar 133, Potter annotated arpeggios (in the left and right hands separately) next to the dramatic chord marked ***fp***. This is the only added arpeggio in this section, but it is unlikely that he intended arpeggiation for this chord alone.

FIGURES 9 AND 10 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Sonata *Pathétique* Op. 13, first movement, bars 1–4 and 287–294 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata Pathétique for the Piano Forte*, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [ca 1854], p. 1 and 8)

In the second movement marked Adagio Cantabile, Potter annotated arpeggio signs next to the chords on the first and second quarter-note beats in bar 9 (Figure 11). Arpeggiation in this context would certainly have been intended to enhance the singing quality implied especially by Potter's added verbal expressions *cantando* and *con molto espressione*. He likely intended the arpeggiation here to be luxuriously broad (slow), perhaps something along the lines that Thalberg aimed at in L'Art *du chant*, to help pianists to create an illusion of

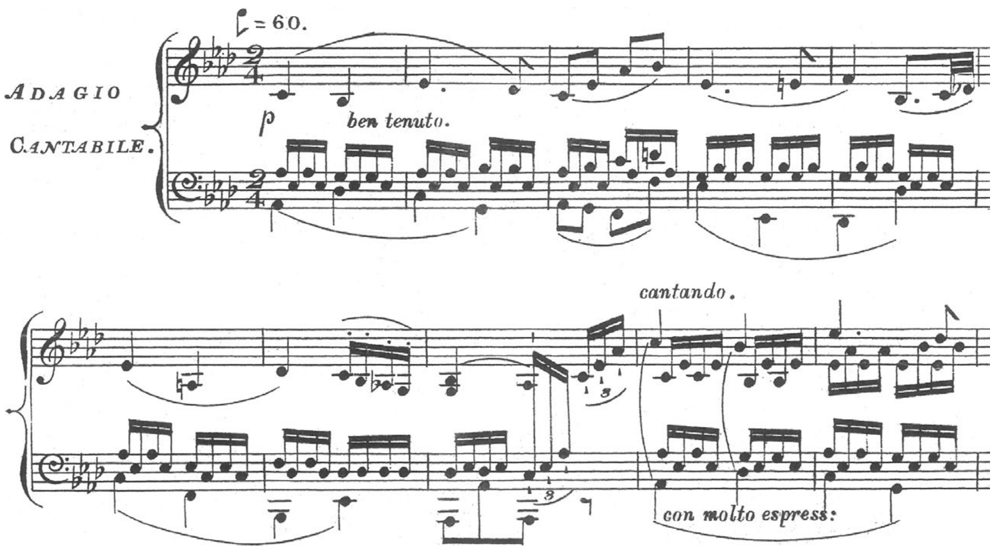


FIGURE 11 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Sonata *Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bars 1–10 (Beethoven: *Sonata Pathétique*, ed. by Potter, p. 9)

NB. The Melody is printed in larger notes.

FIGURE 12 Thalberg's annotations of arpeggiated chords in his solo piano arrangement of the "Lacrymosa" from Mozart's *Requiem* K. 626, bars 1–4

FIGURE 13 Thalberg's annotations of arpeggiated and non-arpeggiated chords in his solo piano arrangement of the "Lacrymosa" from Mozart's *Requiem* K. 626, bars 5–10 (Figures 12 and 13: Thalberg: L'Art *du chant*, Vol. 5: Mozart: Lacrymosa, p. 3 and 4)

the singer's "sustained and prolonged sounds, but also of swelling sounds."[94] Thalberg's arpeggio markings in his solo piano arrangement of the "Lacrymosa" from Mozart's *Requiem* K. 626 provides a telling example of what he may have expected. When the orchestra starts in the first two bars no arpeggiation is marked. But, when the choir enters and the melody is legato and *piano* in bars 3 and 4, Thalberg marks arpeggios presumably to delay the melody note (and therefore to bring it out), as well as to produce a 'gluey' choir-like sound world (Figure 12). When the choir sings short notes at bars 5 and 6, he marks square bracket signs meaning no arpeggiation (Figure 13).

Thalberg's arrangement for solo piano of Beethoven's song *Adelaide* Op. 46 reveals a similar procedure. Notably in the Allegro section, when the Adelaide melody is in the piano accompaniment in bars 103/104, no arpeggiation is marked. But for the 'sung' Adelaide in bars 105/106, Thalberg marks arpeggio signs presumably to effect both expressive delay of the melody-note and to emulate the swelling of sounds in a singing style (Figure 14). Curiously, the chord at the beginning of bar 106 does not have an arpeggio sign before it. This may have been an oversight on Thalberg's part or an engraver's error; it is unlikely that Thalberg expected an unarpeggiated chord here, though asynchrony might also have been intended. In this regard, it is noteworthy that Thalberg marks a double hairpin – crescendo in bar 105 and diminuendo in bar 106 –, which possibly carried implications for the agogic accentuation of this chord, also with arpeggiation or asynchrony.[95]

Returning to Potter, though not marked, he surely expected arpeggios to continue throughout bars 9–16 of this movement. He marked another arpeggio sign before the first beat in bar 16 – the strong or dissonant beat of the cadence –, but not on the second beat, the resolution. This manner of creating light and shade at cadence points was expressly advised by Czerny.[96] Where the opening music is repeated at bar 29, Potter added an arpeggio sign before the chord on the first beat. It is somewhat curious, therefore, that he did not mark one at the very opening of the movement. But it is unlikely that he expected anything different there. In this respect, the annotation by the German-born pianist Julius Benedict (1804–1885), who studied with Hummel and Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), and who was introduced to Beethoven by Hummel in 1823, is interesting. Beethoven and Benedict met on two occasions. In his edition of the Op. 13 Sonata dating from circa 1850, Benedict gives an alternative realisation of the first bar of the second movement (Figure 15), indicating that the inner-note accompaniment be played

94 "[…] produire l'illusion des sons soutenus et prolongés, mais encore celle des sons enflés." Thalberg, *L'Art du chant*, p. [1].

95 See fn. 76.

96 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 41. English: Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

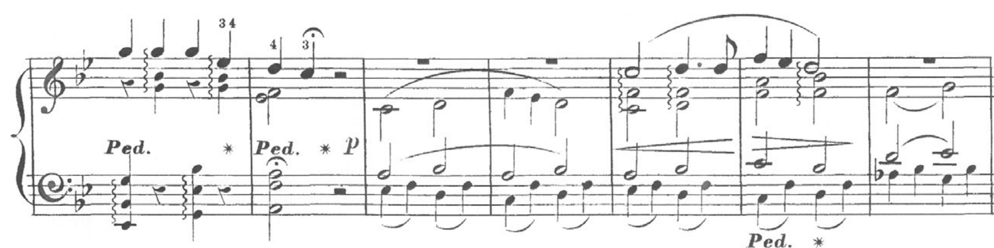


Figure 14 Thalberg's arpeggio markings in his solo piano arrangement of Beethoven's song *Adelaide* Op. 46, bars 101–107 (Thalberg: L'*Art du chant*, Vol. 3: Beethoven: Adélaide, p. 3)

Figure 15 Benedict's annotations of arpeggio in Beethoven's Sonata *Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bars 1–9 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Piano Sonata* Op. 13, ed. by Julius Benedict, London [ca 1850], p. 10)

Figure 16 Leschetizky's performance of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 10, 1906 Welte piano roll

earlier than the corresponding melody-note in the right hand (the latter seemingly aligned with the bass) "to give emphasis to the melody."[97] But it is questionable whether his notation provides the exact positioning of the notes as he intended or is simply a shorthand means to indicate some type of arpeggiation. There may well be a link between Benedict's notation here and the manner in which Leschetizky plays some of the double-note chords in the right hand in bar 10 in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 preserved on a 1906 Welte piano roll (Figure 16). I have noted that in Leschetizky's performance, "the lower note of the chord in the right hand anticipates the upper note that is aligned with the corresponding note in the left hand".[98]

Significantly, in their instructive edition of Op. 13 (ca 1875) Sigmund Lebert and Immanuel Faisst signal that arpeggiation was usual in this movement through their strong criticism of it:

> "For this movement we should, in contrast to improper arpeggio playing, insist upon the simultaneous striking of all the voices. In so doing, the melody must distinctly stand out against the accompaniment, yet tenderly, but in the accompaniment itself we have again to distinguish between the bass, in which especially the longer notes are to be played somewhat more loudly, and the figurated middle voices, which especially when doubled, must be played with great discretion."[99]

The bringing out of melody notes through careful balancing of the parts was also advocated by many writers earlier in the nineteenth century, notably by Czerny. Clearly, this negative attitude to arpeggiation is in line with the modernist view that was starting to take hold in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

Another anomaly in Potter's edition of this movement is the arpeggio marking at the beginning of bar 52 (the second bar of the theme) instead of bar 51. This may be an engraver's error, given that he added an arpeggio at the beginning of the theme in bar 59. Whatever the reason, Potter's sporadically-placed arpeggio signs are best viewed as reminders to continue arpeggiating, and/or best understood within the context of an attitude to its use that existed in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was with respect to slow movements specifically: it is interesting to consider the advice of the Englishman

97 See Miller-Kay: *The Virtuosity of Interpretation*, pp. 192 f.

98 Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, p. 132.

99 "Für diesen Satz ist vor allem, gegenüber dem Unfug des Harpeggirens, auf gleichzeitiges Anschlagen aller Stimmen zu dringen. Dabei muß die Melodie vor der Begleitung gehörig heraustreten, jedoch schön weich; in der Begleitung selbst aber ist wieder zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Baß, in welchem namentlich die längern Noten etwas stärker zu nehmen sind, und den figurirten Mittelstimmen, welche, zumal wo sie verdoppelt sind, mit großer Discretion gespielt werden müssen." Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 13, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works*, ed. by Immanuel Faisst and Sigmund Lebert, Stuttgart/Berlin [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 1, pp. 138–155, here p. 146.

William Sheppard who explained in 1824 that "In *slow* movements it is better to spread the Chords whether they are marked or not."[100] Further explanation, including the benefits of this practice, was given in circa 1876 by Franz Albert Gressler (1804–1886): "Because our hearing finds it easier to hear notes when they are played separately than when they are played together, it is advised – especially in very full chords in a slow tempo – to slightly arpeggiate where it is not indicated in writing."[101]

In the third movement (Rondo) Allegro non tanto, Potter added arpeggios before the chords at bars 18 and 22 (Figure 17). Like the first movement, these would presumably have heightened the dramatic emphasis in line with Beethoven's ***sfp*** markings (which Potter changed to ***fp***). Potter may have intended the arpeggios here to help fill out the sound of the bar, for "the development of its harmonic mass" as recommended by Klauwell (see above), perhaps also played upwards and downwards multiple times (see

Figures 17 and 18 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Sonata *Pathétique* Op. 13, third movement, bars 15–27 and 72–76 (Beethoven: *Sonata Pathétique*, ed. by Potter, p. 12)

100 William Sheppard: A *New Pianoforte Preceptor*, London [ca 1824], p. 55.

101 "Da das Gehör einen so gegliederten Accord leichter auffasst und behält, als die zugleich angeschlagenen Töne desselben, so ist eine kleine Brechung – namentlich bei sehr vollstimmigen Accorden in langen Noten – auch da zu empfehlen, so sie schriftlich nicht angedeutet sein sollte." Franz Albert Gressler: *Theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule*, Langensalza [ca 1876], Vol. 4, p. 20.

above). In bar 75, Potter marked the right-hand octave on the second beat with an arpeggio and a short accent sign (Figure 18), though this is missing in bar 14 where he surely expected the same treatment. A swift arpeggio here would soften any potential harshness as advised by Klauwell. These arpeggiated right-hand octaves bear resemblance to those in the English edition of Clementi's Op. 7 (see above).

It is notable that the pianist and music editor William Dorrell (1810–1896) also added arpeggio signs in the first and second movements of Op. 13 (perhaps continuing in Potter's footsteps), as well as in the first movement of Op. 2 No. 1 and the second movement of Op. 22, in a complete edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas published in London in 1861.[102]

Piano Sonata Op. 27 No. 2 *Moonlight* In the first movement, Adagio sostenuto, of Beethoven's *Moonlight* Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, Potter annotated the octaves in the right hand at bars 6 and 7 with arpeggio signs (Figure 19). No doubt he considered these necessary to delineate the melody-note from the inner-voice accompaniment and bass chords by slightly separating them. This, then, might be considered a manual asynchrony of the type mentioned by Thalberg (see above) and Brée (in the *Leschetizky Method*), "which gives [the melody-note] more relief and a softer effect."[103] One is reminded, here, of Pauer's

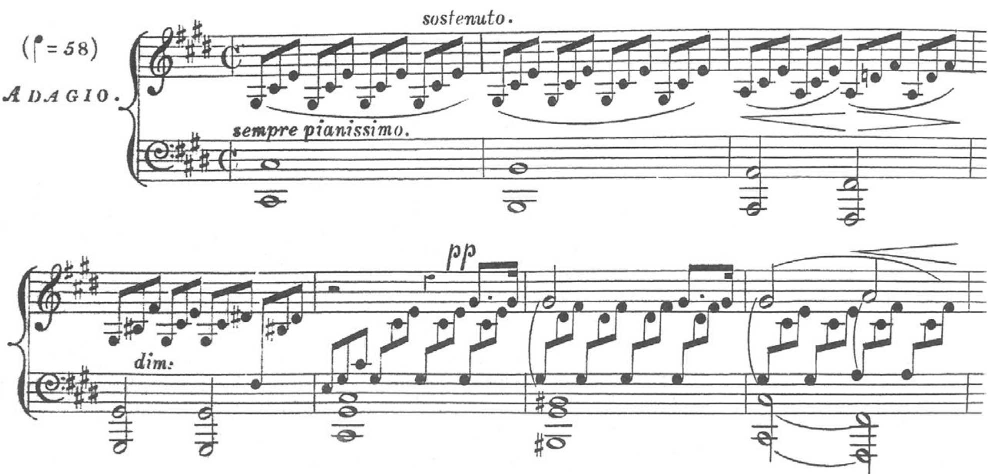


FIGURE 19 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, first movement, bars 1–7 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata Quasi Fantasia Known as the Moonlight Sonata for the Piano Forte*, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [ca 1854], p. 2)

102 See Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 154–156.

103 "[…] wodurch sie deutlicher hervortönt und weicher klingt." Brée: *Die Grundlage*, p. 73. English: Brée: *The Groundwork*, p. 73.

advice that arpeggiation expresses "softness, languor, despondency and irresolution."[104] Presumably, Potter expected these arpeggiations to continue throughout the movement.

Potter also marked an arpeggio before the chord forming the interval of a ninth in the right hand at bars 52 and 54 (Figure 20), though curiously not when the same interval is first presented in bars 16 and 18. This arpeggio may simply have been for the benefit of those for whom the interval of a ninth was too wide. On the other hand, Potter may have felt that the poignant harmony needed special expressive emphasis of the melody note achieved by arpeggiation. In this respect, Sigmund Lebert and Immanuel Faisst, editors of a ca 1875 instructive edition of the sonata, marked a wavy line arpeggio before the chord on the last beat of bar 8 (also an interval of a ninth) in the first movement and in a few similar places, explaining that:

> "Urgently as we must warn against applying to this piece universally the modern mannerism of arpeggiating, dragging the melody-tones after 'all'arpeggio', yet we recommend, at this place and the few other ones which we have marked thus: ⦚ (even for those hands for which the stretches are not too wide), a rapid arpeggio, in order, in view of the peculiarity of the tone-combinations concerned, [so] that the melody-tone may be more clearly projected against the accompanying-tone."[105]

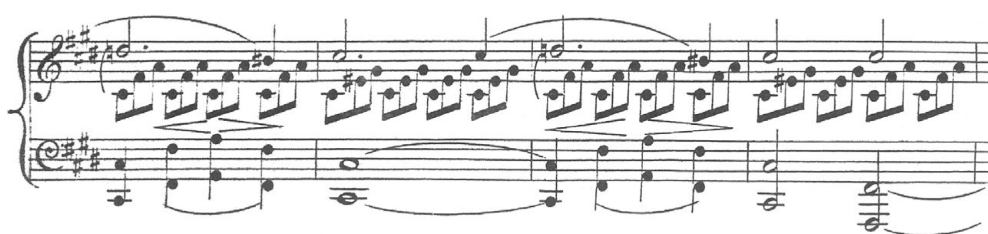


FIGURE 20 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's *Moonlight* Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, first movement, bars 52–55 (Beethoven: *Sonata Quasi Fantasia*, ed. by Potter, p. 4)

Hans von Bülow, in an instructive edition (ca 1875), offered a similar explanation regarding the bringing out of melody notes through arpeggiation in bars 157 and 158 of Variation 4 of the second movement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 111. Von Bülow

104 Pauer: *The Art of Pianoforte Playing*, p. 46.

105 "So dringend wir davor warnen müssen, auf dieses Stück durchgängig die moderne Manier harpeggirenden Nachschlagens der Melodietöne anzuwenden, so empfehlen wir doch an dieser und den wenigen andern Stellen, welche wir mit ⦚ bezeichnet haben, auch für solche Hände, denen die Griffe nicht zu weit sind, ein rasches Harpeggiren, um bei der Eigenthümlichkeit der betreffenden Zusammenklänge den Melodieton klarer von dem Begleitungston abzuheben." Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works*, ed. by Immanuel Faisst and Sigmund Lebert, Stuttgart/Berlin [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 2, pp. 60–73, here p. 60.

added arpeggio signs to several of the large-spanned chords supporting very high melody notes within the context of his added *fortissimo* dynamic:

> "Arpeggiating, which in the delivery of the classics we otherwise exclude on principle, appears to us here necessary even for hands of greater spanning-capacity, in order to assist the upper voice to attain its full right to most emphatic prominence. The player should, of course, beware of an anticipation disturbing the purity of the harmony. The uppermost tone may lag a little without disadvantage."[106]

Whether the "modern mannerism of arpeggiating" articulated by Lebert and Faisst was indeed modern in the second half of the nineteenth century is questionable. One is reminded of Sheppard's advice (see above), written in Beethoven's lifetime, that it is better for all chords to be arpeggiated, whether marked or not, in slow movements. Also, a modern tendency to arpeggiate continuously was previously described by Czerny in 1839 and 1846, and by Pauer in 1877 (see above). Faisst's and Lebert's statement appears therefore to lack the perspective of history.

Recordings of this movement by Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940) in circa 1937,[107] and Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941) in 1937,[108] reveal their liberal use of un-notated arpeggiation in various ways that would raise eyebrows in many pianistic circles today. Yet, it is probable that their style was part of a nineteenth-century tradition of playing this work, quite possibly emanating from the era of Beethoven or earlier.

In the third movement of Op. 27 No. 2 Potter annotates arpeggios before both chords in the right hand in bar 94, seemingly to prepare for or match Beethoven's grace-note arpeggio at the beginning of bar 95 (Figure 21). These were likely intended to help create the effect of a swelling of sound in alignment with Beethoven's crescendo sign, perhaps in a similar way advised by Thalberg in L'*Art du chant* (see above). Also of interest in this movement is Potter's annotation of arpeggios to the chords in bars 100 and 101 (Figure 22). Presumably this was to enhance Beethoven's *piano* and *pianissimo* respectively, as well as to fill out the texture in each bar. He most likely expected a moderately slow

106 "Das Arpeggiren, das wir beim Vortrage der Klavierklassiker sonst grundsätzlich ausschliessen, erscheint uns hier, auch für Hände grösserer Spannungsfähigkeit nothwendig, um der Oberstimme zu ihrem vollen Rechte auf nachdrücklichste Hervorhebung zu verhelfen. Der Spieler hüte sich natürlich vor einem die Reinheit der Harmonie trübenden Anticipiren. Der höchste Ton darf ohne Nachtheil sich verspäten." Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 111, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works*, ed. by Hans von Bülow, Stuttgart/Berlin [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 5, pp. 118–143, here p. 141. For a discussion of Von Bülow's added arpeggio signs see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 156–158.

107 *The Dolmetsch Family with Diana Poulton. Pioneer Early Music Recordings*, Vol. 1, Track 16 (published by the Lute Society in association with the Dolmetsch Foundation), see www.semibrevity.com/2013/07/early-dolmetsch-family-recordings-on-cd/.

108 *Ignacy Jan Paderewski plays Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata*, from the movie *Moonlight Sonata* (1937), accessible at www.youtube.com/watch?v=idmYXaIhh2A.

spread in the way described by Czerny in Op. 500,[109] perhaps also up and down several times (see above). This is in stark contrast with the *fortissimo* chords in bars 128 and 132 marked by Potter with arpeggio signs (Figure 23), which he probably expected to be spread vigorously (quickly) in order to enhance Beethoven's *fortissimo* in the way described by Wesley and De Bériot (see above). Finally, Potter's annotation of arpeggios (presumably to be played very swiftly) to the chords in the left hand at bars 164 and 166 (Figure 24) was likely meant to intensify the effect previously created by Beethoven's written-out arpeggios.

Figures 21–23 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, third movement, bars 94–96, 100–103 and 128–133

109 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 41. English: Czerny: *Pianoforte School*, Vol. 3, p. 56.

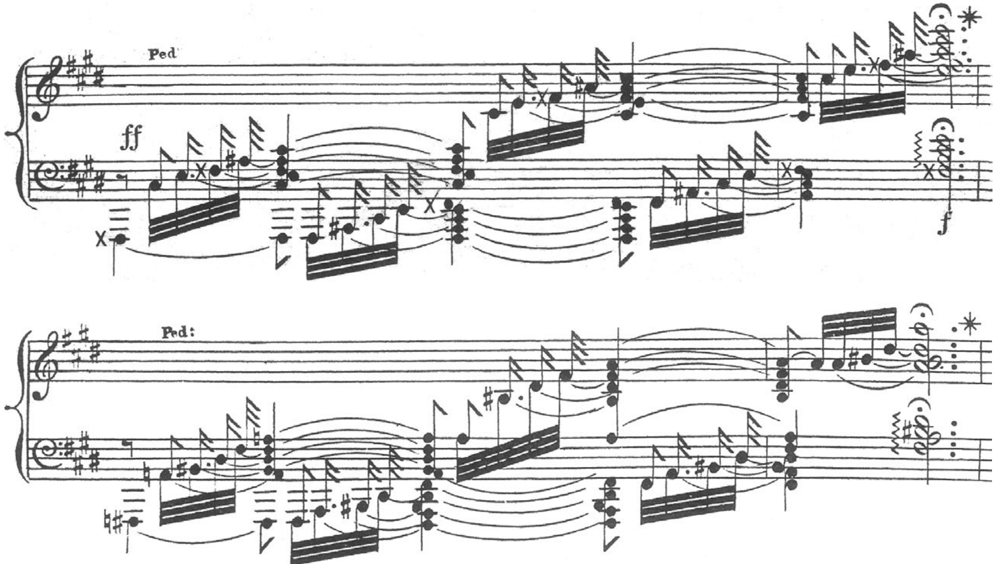


Figure 24 **Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, third movement, bars 163/164 and 165/166 (Figures 21–24: Beethoven: *Sonata Quasi Fantasia*, ed. by Potter, p. 10, 12, 13, and 14)**

Piano Sonata Op. 26 Potter annotated arpeggios in the first movement, Andante. Tema con Variazioni, from Beethoven's Sonata Op. 26 before the first chord in bar 2 – an expressive B♭ 7th chord, as well as bar 4 – an A♭ major chord with an unprepared fourth (Figure 25). In Ernst Pauer's 1878 edition of this movement arranged for children, he too marked arpeggios in both bars.[110] In this regard, the advice by Lebert and Faisst (see above) about the need to arpeggiate chords with poignant harmonies offers helpful context for Potter's and Pauer's annotations. Additionally, with regard to the first chord in the right hand in bar 4 of the movement (and other similar places), Sigmund Lebert

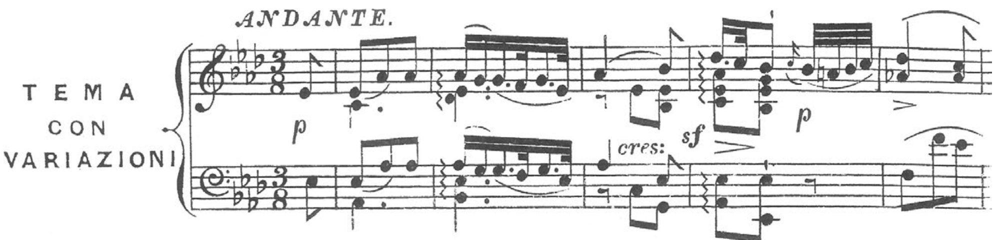


Figure 25 **Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 26, first movement, bars 1–5 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata* Op. 26, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [ca 1854], p. 2)**

110 Ludwig van Beethoven: Andante (from the Sonata, Op. 26), in: *The Children's Beethoven. Short Pieces for the Pianoforte*, ed. by Ernst Pauer, London 1878, p. 3.

and Immanuel Faisst, in an instructive edition (ca 1875) of the work, advised giving a musical example (Figure 26a) that:

> "The *arpeggio* here and at similar places is intended for hands for which the stretch is too wide, and which, therefore, should momentarily touch the lowest tone, but hold the highest tones to their full value. Since, however, the ***sf*** refers under all circumstances chiefly to the highest tone, the *arpeggio* must begin *piano* and be intensified up to the latter".[111]

Figure 26a Annotated arpeggio sign in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 26, first movement, bar 1 by Immanuel Faisst and Sigmund Lebert (Beethoven: Sonata Op. 26, ed. by Faisst and Lebert, p. 27)

This explanation was amplified, with a musical example (Figure 26b), in a later instructive edition of the work (1896) edited by Sigmund Lebert and Hans von Bülow:

> "This arpeggio-mark is not found in the original […]. Nevertheless, a moderately free use of the arpeggio in this place – and in various others as well – is eminently proper, not only on technical, but still more on acoustical, grounds (for the sake of euphony). The reproach of irreverence [for Beethoven] is disarmed by pointing to movements 1 and 2 of Op. 109, where we meet with a notation of chords in the form of small tied notes; – in Op. 27 No. 2, Finale in C♯ minor, he [Beethoven] even definitely indicates the breaking of the chord by rhythmically dividing it. An almost unnoticeable dwelling on the (melodically) most important highest tone is advisable, so as not to alter its relative value to the next."[112]

Figure 26b Annotated arpeggio signs in Beethovens' Piano Sonata Op. 26, first movement, bars 1 and 24 by Sigmund Lebert and Hans von Bülow (Beethoven: Sonata Op. 26, ed. by Lebert and Von Bülow, p. 161)

Potter additionally marked arpeggios before the chords on the third beat in bars 22 and 24 of the first movement presumably to give particular expression to the poignant sighing melodic material (Figure 27). He also annotated them before the chords on the first beat

111 "Das *arpeggio* hier und bei den ähnlichen Stellen gilt für solche Hände, welchen der Griff sonst zu weit ist, und welche desshalb [sic] den untersten Ton nur kurz zu berühren, die höheren Töne aber vollständig auszuhalten haben. Da jedoch das ***sf*** sich unter allen Umständen hauptsächlich auf den höchsten Ton bezieht, so muss das *arpeggio piano* angefangen und bis zu dem letzteren gesteigert werden". Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 26, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works*, ed. by Immanuel Faisst and Sigmund Lebert, Stuttgart/Berlin [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 2, pp. 27–43, here p. 27.

112 Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 26, in: *Sonata Album*, Book ii, ed. by Sigmund Lebert and Hans von Bülow, New York 1896, pp. 161–183, here p. 161.

in bars 38 and 46 (Variation 1), very likely to emphasise the special dissonance, marked *sf* by Beethoven (Figure 28).

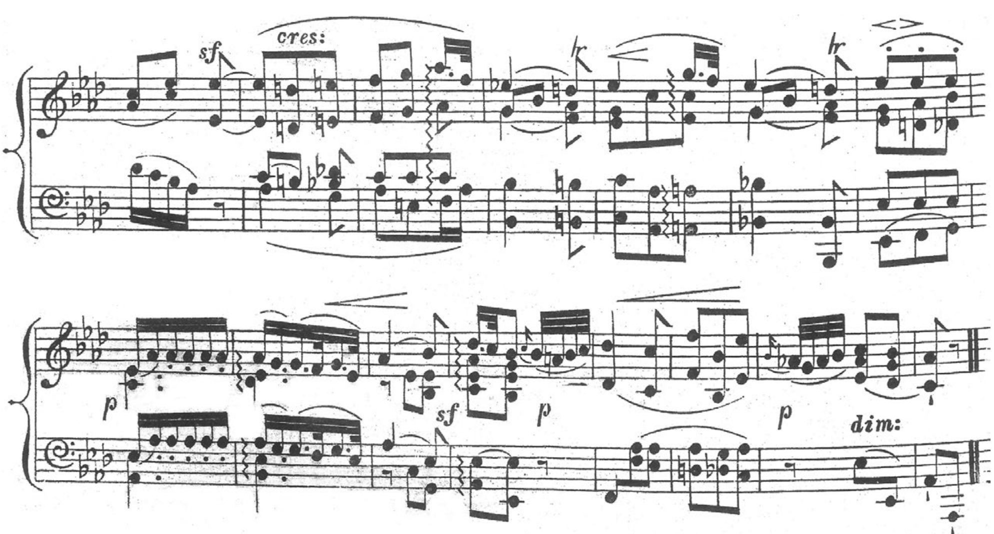


FIGURE 27 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 26, first movement, bars 20–34 (Beethoven: *Sonata* Op. 26, ed. by Potter, p. 2)

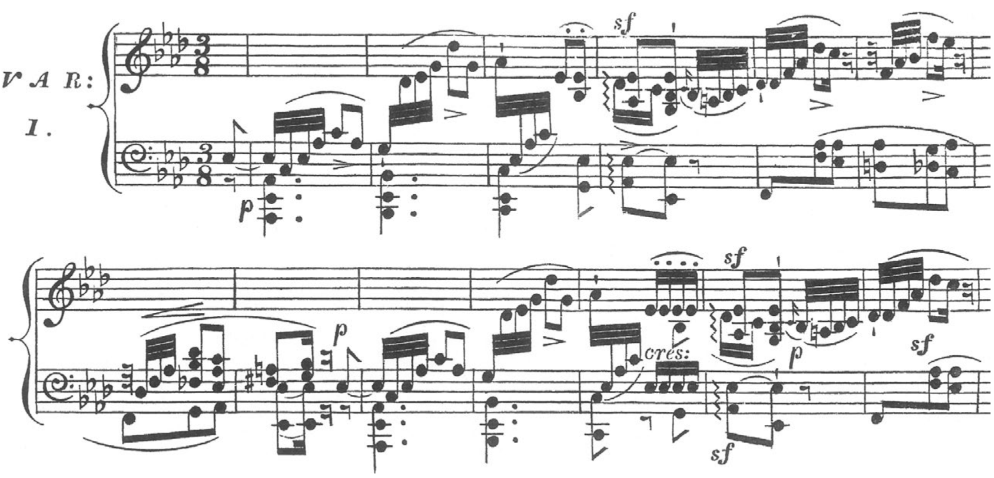


FIGURE 28 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 26, first movement, bars 35–47 (Variation 1) (Beethoven: *Sonata* Op. 26, ed. by Potter, p. 2)

A question arises as to whether Potter would have permitted an arpeggio on beat 1 of bar 1 (Figure 25) and other similar places. Given the expressive nature of this movement, it seems likely, and perhaps the type of arpeggio might be as prescribed by Brée (in the *Leschetizky Method*) who explained that "[a]n arpeggio is also in order where a tender or

delicate effect is desired. In such cases the right hand plays arpeggio, while the left strikes its chord flat".[113] She prescribed the opposite to create energy without harshness when the texture comprises chords in both hands to be accented.[114] The Welte piano roll recording (Welte-Mignon No. 733, probably recorded in 1905) of this movement by the German pianist Georg Schumann (1866–1952), who studied with Reinecke, is particularly significant.[115] The manner in which Schumann plays the opening thematic section with prolific employment of manual asynchrony and chordal arpeggiation could be regarded as a masterclass in how to apply such devices in highly expressive music such as this. The level of un-notated arpeggiation in Schumann's performance is certainly in line with that of Reinecke in his 1906 unpublished piano roll of the second movement Andante from Beethoven's *Pastorale* Sonata Op. 28.[116]

Andante in F – *Andante favori* WoO 57 Applying arpeggiation to help melody notes emerge expressively is no doubt the reason for Potter's annotated arpeggios before the characteristic sighing figures at the beginning of bars 1 and 2 in Beethoven's Andante in F – the *Andante favori* WoO 57 (Figure 29). Here, it is significant that the arpeggios correspond with Beethoven's marking *dolce*. One is again reminded of Corri's advice in this regard (see above). On the third beat in the right hand of bar 108, Potter's annotated arpeggio was presumably intended to both soften the effect of the chord after the accented first beat of the bar as well as to emphasise the B♭ 7th harmony (Figure 30). Curiously, he did not mark this when the same material appears earlier in bars 29 or 58. Perhaps Potter intended an entirely different effect in bar 108, though that seems unlikely.

Potter's arpeggio marking before the chord in the right hand on the first beat of bar 171 (marked ***p*** by Beethoven but interpolated as ***fp*** by Potter) was no doubt intended to give the effect of special brilliance after the crescendo through the previous two bars (Figure 31). Similarly, Potter most likely expected his annotated arpeggios for the chords on the third beat of bar 198 and the first beat of bar 199 to create a sudden, energised effect, in line with Beethoven's *subito forte* (Figure 32).

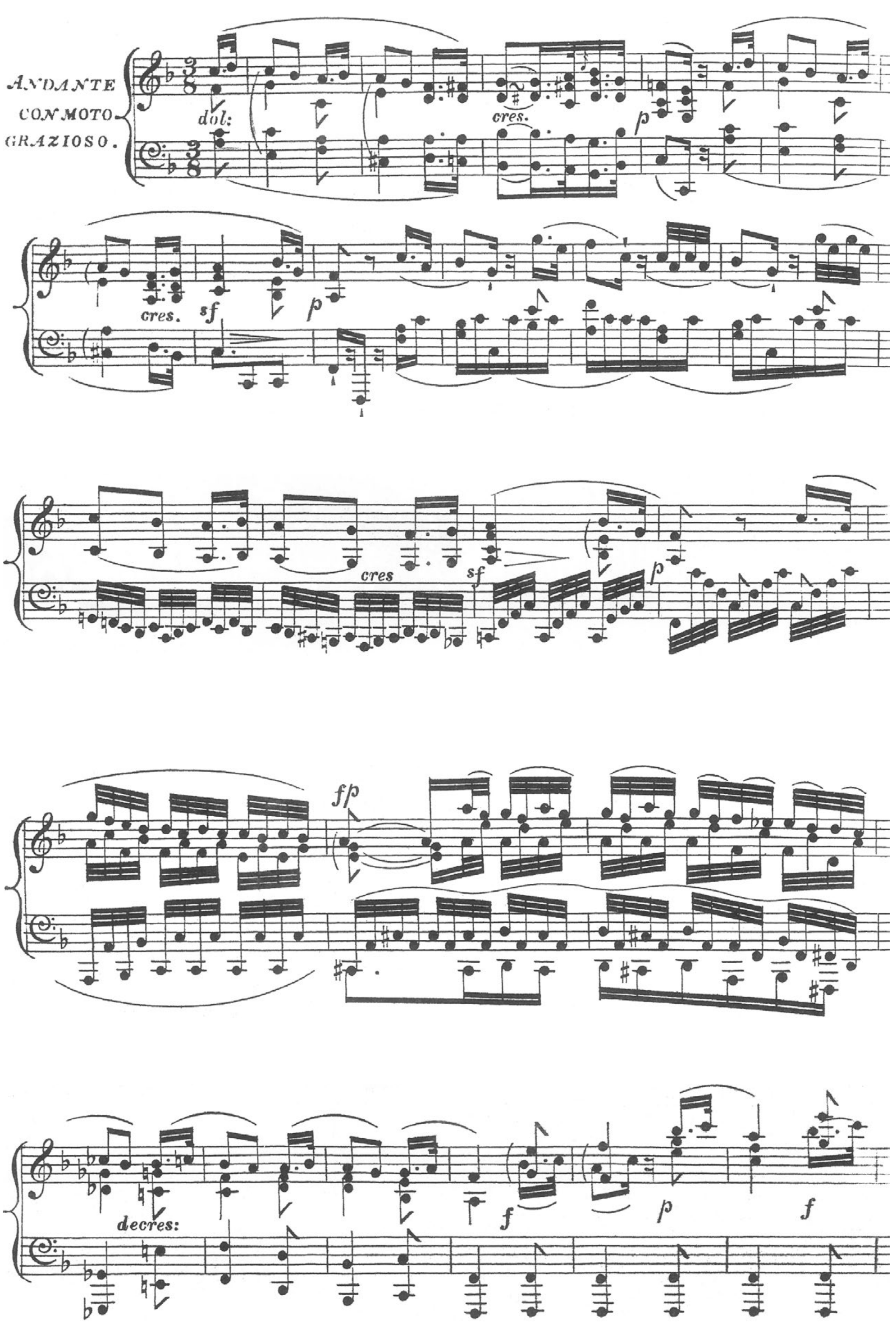
Sonata for Piano and Violin Op. 47 *Kreutzer* Potter's edition of Beethoven's *Kreutzer* Sonata Op. 47 for piano and violin is extraordinary for its arpeggio annotations. In the first

113 "Das Arpeggieren ist auch da am Platze, wo ein weicher Ausdruck hervorgebracht werden soll. Hier arpeggiert die rechte Hand, während die linke den Akkord anschlägt". Brée: *Die Grundlage*, p. 71. English: Brée: *The Groundwork*, p. 72.

114 Ibid.

115 For a presentation about this roll see Magic Piano HKB, https://youtu.be/5iir3E2bA9o.

116 For an in-depth discussion of Reinecke's piano roll of Op. 28 see Sebastian Bausch: *Perceptibility for Moods and Knowledge of Structure*, accessible at YouTube: https://youtu.be/kR3VErl92OI.



FIGURES 29–32 Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Andante in F – the *Andante favori* WoO 57, bars 1–11, 106–109, 170–172, and 195–200 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Andante* in F, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [ca 1854], p. 2, 5, and 8)

movement, Potter marked particular chords in the opening *piano* section in bars 5–13 with arpeggio signs (Figure 33). This is in obvious imitation of the arpeggiation that naturally occurs on the violin in the exposition of the theme. But arpeggiation need not be limited to the places indicated by Potter, though those that he marked might be seen as being essential to a 'beautiful' conception of the work as Beethoven might have expected.[117]

FIGURE 33 **Potter's annotations of arpeggios in Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata Op. 47, piano part, bars 1–14 (Ludwig van Beethoven: *Grand Sonata or Concertante per Pianoforte & Violino. Dedicated to Rudolph Kreutzer*, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [ca 1854], p. 2)**

Final Thoughts After Beethoven's death, and in the second half of the nineteenth century, his music was increasingly regarded as scaling the pinnacle of musical creation, to be treated with absolute reverence. Moreover, the power, brilliance, and stature of his compositions were thought to require, above all else, a muscular conception. This brought about a move away from the practice of un-notated arpeggiation in his piano music that seemingly began in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, in 1853, musicologist Carl Engel (1818–1882) advised in *The Pianist's Handbook* that in the first movement of the *Pathétique* Sonata Op. 13, "All the chords must be struck firmly and not arpeggio, with a rather heavy touch."[118] This advice alludes to the fact that arpeggiation was indeed a practice heard in this movement. And, in discussing the opening of the first

117 For a fuller discussion of Potter's annotated arpeggiations in Op. 47, see Clive Brown/Neal Peres Da Costa: Commentary, in: *Beethoven Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin. Performing Practice Commentary*, ed. by Clive Brown and Neal Peres Da Costa, Kassel 2020, 29–144, here pp. 110–113.

118 Carl Engel: *The Pianist's Handbook*, London 1853, p. 116. See also Miller-Kay: *The Virtuosity of Interpretation*, p. 192.

movement of Beethoven's Op. 26 Sonata, Sigmund Lebert and Hans von Bülow stated strongly that "the arpeggio style of playing was incompatible with his [Beethoven's] orchestral habit of thinking."[119]

Others linked arpeggiation practices generally with gendered notions of strong and weak. For instance, Pauer explained that "The one [un-arpeggiated chords] may be likened [recte: linked] to the man, the other [arpeggiated chords] to the woman, in Milton's great epic: – 'For contemplation he, and valour formed; / For softness she, and sweet attractive grace.'"[120] Such notions will have accelerated a change of taste which favoured less arpeggiation and more alignment of notes in accordance with the appearance of Beethoven's score markings. But, as we have seen, even Pauer did not completely disavow arpeggiation in Beethoven's piano music. There was also a growing concern for too frequently or continuously applied arpeggiation, a 'modern' practice mentioned by Czerny, Pauer, and Faisst and Lebert, to be curbed or avoided. Indeed, some felt that arpeggiation was inappropriate in earlier, pre-Romantic music: Von Bülow vehemently stated that "in the delivery of the classics we otherwise exclude [arpeggiation] on principle".[121] Yet according to earlier sources (some from Beethoven's lifetime), the practice was already well established, particularly but by no means exclusively in works of a slow and/or expressive character. What is more and recalling the advice of Wesley, Corri, and De Bériot, arpeggiation was also seen as enhancing energy and strength in appropriate situations.

During the twentieth century, negative views about un-notated arpeggiation (and many other performing practices) have manifested themselves in interpretations of Beethoven's works (even in HIP circles) that stay closely allied to the notes and the markings in his scores. Yet, the aesthetics of musical performance during and for a substantial time after Beethoven's lifetime relied on the artistic input of trained musicians who drew on a palette of expressive practices, quite different to the present time, that were much valued in bringing to life the lifeless notes of the score. Throughout the nineteenth century this bringing to life of the score was engendered in 'beautiful' performances – the musically-inspired interpretations of highly-skilled artists. On the other hand, 'correct' performances were achieved through rendering the score and its markings as exactly as possible, the domain of students who were in the process of acquiring musical and technical skills. Concepts of 'beautiful' versus 'correct' performance were articulated by several respected

119 Beethoven: Sonata Op. 26, ed. by Lebert and Von Bülow, p. 161.

120 Pauer: *The Art of Pianoforte Playing*, p. 46.

121 "Das Arpeggiren, das wir beim Vortrage der Klavierklassiker sonst grundsätzlich ausschliessen". Beethoven: Sonata Op. 111, ed. by Von Bülow, Vol. 5, p. 141.

musicians including Louis Spohr (1784–1859), Hummel, and Reinecke,[122] and firmly embedded in the musical psyches of nineteenth-century musicians. In this respect, Hans von Bülow's opinion about the section from bars 114 ff. in the third movement from Beethoven's Sonata Op. 110 is telling: "The composer has marked the shadings of delivery with so great exactness, that correct and beautiful execution go together."[123] Von Bülow refers here to the unusual proliferation of dynamic indications and crescendo and diminuendo hairpin signs by Beethoven, a veritable masterclass in 'beautiful' delivery, although, paradoxically, a 'correct' rendering of the score.

The annotation of arpeggio signs to Beethoven's works for piano, in didactic sources by musicians closely connected with the composer such as Czerny and Potter, are important in what they may reveal to us about Beethoven's expectations. Studying these within the context of advice about arpeggiation in nineteenth-century written sources provides fascinating insights into where, why, and how these practices were to be employed, and makes for a deeper understanding of what Czerny and Potter might have expected to hear in 'beautiful' interpretations of Beethoven's piano music.

Of course, Czerny's, Potter's and other editors' arpeggio annotations (mentioned above) were generally didactic in nature, notated sporadically to instruct student pianists about the 'correct' placement of arpeggios, or at the very least to remind them to arpeggiate. These tell us little about the frequency or the variation of type, speed, and shape of arpeggiation that Beethoven and pianists of his era must surely have utilised in response to the music and in pursuit of the highest artistic ideals. To read these annotated arpeggio signs as absolute or binding (in the way that *urtexts* have come to be read since the middle of the twentieth century) would steer us away from the path of artistic agency which many musicians before the twentieth-century modern revolution revered.

The study of written sources and early recordings has revealed an arsenal of arpeggiation practices which I have applied experimentally to piano music of Beethoven and other Classical- and Romantic-era composers.[124] Over time, these practices have become embedded in my pianism to the extent that I can draw upon them intuitively, in the

122 See Peres Da Costa: Performance Practices for Romantic and Modern Repertoire, pp. 356–358.

123 "Der Autor hat die Vortragsnüancen mit so minutiöser Genauigkeit vorgezeichnet, dass correkte und schöne Ausführung mit einander zusammenfallen." Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonata Op. 110, in: *Sonatas and Other Works for the Pianoforte, Instructive Edition of Classical Pianoforte-Works* ed. by Hans von Bülow, Stuttgart [ca 1875], trans. by John Henry Cornell, repr. New York 1891, Vol. 5, pp. 97–117, here p. 113.

124 For example, listen to my recording of Beethoven's First and Third Piano Concertos (on fortepiano in chamber arrangements) in: *Beethoven Piano Concertos 1 & 3* with the Australian Haydn Ensemble (2017): accessible on YouTube, Apple Music, and Spotify.

moment, to serve the music's expression in a multitude of ways not previously available to me.[125]

Some will argue that these arpeggiation practices are more suited to the wooden-framed, straight strung Viennese-action pianos with leather-covered hammers of Beethoven's era, than to later overstrung iron-framed modern pianos. While it is true that arpeggiation helps to emphasise melodies and fill out texture on earlier-style pianos, let us not ignore the fact that arpeggiation was prescribed and used in several countries before and after the rise of the 'modern' piano in the nineteenth century. More to the point, the oldest generation of pianists to record (Reinecke, Leschetizky and Saint-Säens) as well as many pianists of the next generations up until the 1950s continued to make liberal use of arpeggiation even though they performed on modern pianos. Clearly, for these revered artists arpeggiation practices transcended matters of instrument affordance: while piano construction and sounds evolved, the special and varied expressive nuances that arpeggiation practices offered were retained.

While scepticism will remain about whether Czerny's and Potter's annotations, published after Beethoven's death, tell us anything about what Beethoven expected in terms of un-notated arpeggiation, it is well to remember that much more daylight has passed between Beethoven and the present time than between Beethoven and the Czerny/Potter era. To overlook what they and other musicians clearly knew and understood about Beethoven simply because that evidence does not accord with our modern view of the composer, or our ingrained modernist musical aesthetics, seems unnecessary and an impediment to artistic creativity in the long run.

125 This is of course work in progress and if I had a chance to re-record these works, I would be more adventurous in so far as variety of arpeggiation.

Siân Derry

Beethoven's Tied-Note Notation. An Ongoing Debate

Beethoven's tied-note notation, in which he prescribes a slide from one finger to the next onto a note of the same pitch, is infamous among his keyboard techniques and is an area that has received much scholarly attention. Examples of this notation can be found within the Piano Sonatas Opp. 106 and 110, as well as in the *Große Fuge* for piano duet Op. 134, and in the piano part of the Cello Sonata Op. 69 (Figures 1a–d).

Figure 1a Cello Sonata in A major Op. 69, 2nd movement, bars 1–8

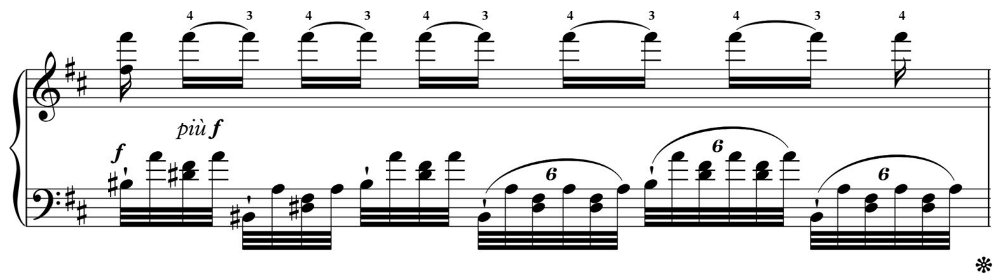


Figure 1b Piano Sonata in B♭ major (*Hammerklavier*) Op. 106, 3rd movement, bar 165

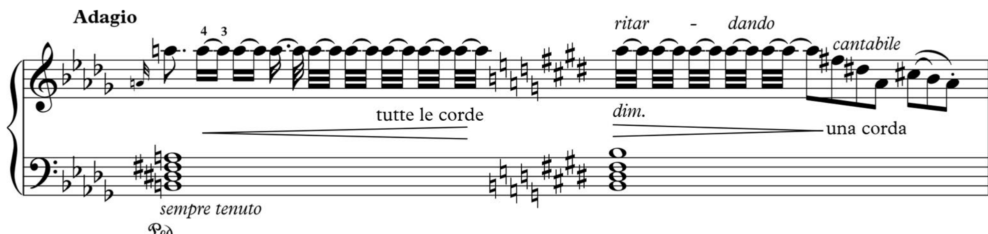


Figure 1c Piano Sonata in A♭ major Op. 110, 3rd movement, bar 5

Figure 1d *Große Fuge* in B♭ major Op. 134, bars 27–38

doi: 10.26045/kp64-6180-005

In general, discourse has largely centred around two areas: the way in which the notation should be executed, and, by extension, what (if any) effect Beethoven was evoking in instances where this notation occurs. Perhaps most famous among the discussions are the series of articles by Paul Badura-Skoda, Jonathan Del Mar and Malcolm Bilson, in which Del Mar and Bilson advocate a repetition of the second note while Badura-Skoda asserts that it should be unsounded (i. e., tied) and thus seemingly contradicting the 4-3 fingering indications as shown in the examples above.[1] Arguably, the answer to this question lies in the origin of the notation itself: what was Beethoven intending and from where did he draw his inspiration? As with the execution of this notation, the source of Beethoven's inspiration has also been subject to much debate. One of the most popular theories contends that he was evoking the *Bebung* technique of the clavichord in which a quasi-vibrato effect is created by rocking the pressure of the finger on the key. However, Badura-Skoda argues against this suggestion, asserting:

> "Even the 'Bebung' of the clavichord has been quoted in order to justify the (slight) separation of the tied notes, as if Beethoven had tried to imitate a peculiarity of a virtually extinct instrument. […] it is difficult to see a reason why Beethoven should have developed a nostalgia for an instrument that meant little or nothing to him."[2]

Beethoven's earliest published use of his tied-note notation appears to be the Cello Sonata Op. 69, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1809, and thus Badura-Skoda is arguably correct in suggesting that clavichords were no longer the keyboard instrument of choice at this time, and certainly by the publication of the later examples in the Piano Sonatas Opp. 106 (1819) and 110 (1822), since their popularity began to decline towards the end of the eighteenth century. However, a sketch in the *Fischhof Miscellany*, which has never before featured in discussions of Beethoven's tied-note notation, adds a new dimension to this argument, namely that of chronology.[3] A figuration of this type (Figure 2) appears on a leaf dated circa 1790, thus preceding the published occurrences by almost twenty years. Significantly, the dating of the sketch leaf likely places Beethoven in Bonn (i. e., prior to his move to Vienna at the end of 1792) and Tilman Skowroneck has deduced that Beethoven's early keyboard training not only would have included the clavichord,

1 See Paul Badura-Skoda: A Tie is a Tie is a Tie. Reflections on Beethoven's Pairs of Tied Notes, in: *Early Music* 16 (1988), pp. 84–88; Jonathan Del Mar: Once again: Reflections on Beethoven's Tied-Note Notation, in: *Early Music* 32 (2004), pp. 7–25; Malcom Bilson: Beethoven's Tied-Note Notation, in: *Early Music* 32 (2004), pp. 489–491. The debate was then reignited in 2016 with Paul Badura-Skoda: Ein Haltenbogen ist (und bleibt) ein Haltenbogen, in: *Piano News* 4 (2016), pp. 30–33; Malcolm Bilson/ Michael Struck: Letters to the Editor, in: *Piano News* 6 (2017), pp. 70–72; Malcolm Bilson: The Case of Beethoven. A Tie by Any Other Name…, in: *Journal of Musicological Research* 39 (2020), pp. 88–98.

2 Badura-Skoda: A Tie is a Tie is a Tie, p. 88.

3 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v. 28.

but also that – given his tendency to practise late at night – the clavichord may have been his instrument of choice for these sessions.[4] As such, the new figuration and its dating poses a direct challenge to Badura-Skoda's argument that the clavichord would have meant little to Beethoven since it is likely Beethoven would (at the very least) have had access to such an instrument at the time he was sketching this example.

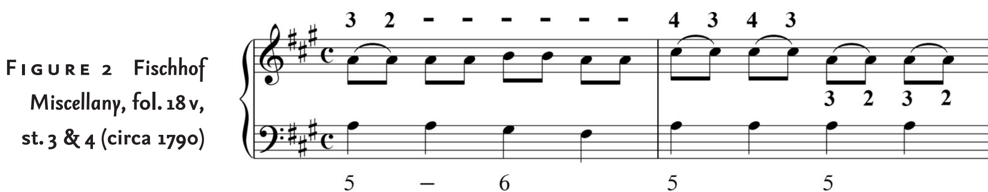


Figure 2 Fischhof *Miscellany*, fol. 18 v, st. 3 & 4 (circa 1790)

The sketch appears on a leaf among other short sketches for keyboard and clearly documents Beethoven experimenting with two different fingerings: while in his published uses of the technique a 4-3 fingering is universally indicated, in this example he also tries out slides from 3-2, notably using a 4-3 fingering for black keys and a 3-2 fingering for white keys. The ties in beats 2, 3 and 4 of bar 1 are seemingly implied by the dashes written above the notes, denoting they are to be executed in the same manner as the first beat. Given that Beethoven is experimenting with different fingerings in this example, it is likely that the figuration is his earliest notated attempt at the technique and that he is identifying which fingering produces the effect for which he is aiming. By extension, it appears that Beethoven eventually determined a 4-3 fingering to be most successful in producing the desired effect and thus this became his favoured (and published) means of execution. Unfortunately, however, while interesting in and of itself, the figuration in the *Fischhof Miscellany* does not provide an answer to the primary questions surrounding the ongoing debate: what was Beethoven evoking and do we or do we not repeat the second note? Nonetheless, the notion that Beethoven might have been indicating a 4-3 finger substitution is doubtful since he does use this technique in a figuration located in his *Kafka Miscellany* (Figure 3).[5] Here, he clearly calls for 4-3 finger substitutions but notates them with the 4 placed over the 3; there are no ties, and the note value is written in full.

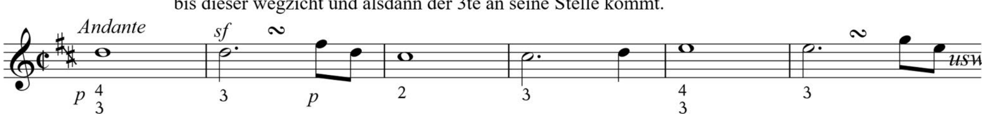


Figure 3 *Kafka Miscellany*, fol. 39 v, st. 1(3) (1793)

4 Tilman Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 26–32.

5 London, British Library, Add MS 29801.

Furthermore, although the *Fischhof Miscellany* figuration was written at a time when it is likely Beethoven would have had access to a clavichord, the style of the notation itself poses further challenges to this theory. In published instances where *Bebung* is indicated, the technique is typically notated with dots above the note on which it was to be used. For example, in their respective treatises, both Daniel Gottlob Türk (*Klavierschule*, 1789) and Franz Paul Rigler (*Anleitung zum Klavier*, 1779) explain that the number of dots equate to the number of pulsations required;[6] Beethoven's examples, however, are all notable for their complete omission of any dots.

Therefore, rather than arguing that Beethoven may simply have adapted the notation by omitting the dots and incorporating ties instead, it seems prudent to take the search for his inspiration elsewhere, and this is where the dating of the new example in the *Fischhof Miscellany* does prove invaluable. During the eighteenth century, Bonn was a city with a vibrant music culture which had a particular affinity with French culture and French opera, and there is a particular technique that despite originating in Italy, was popular in French opera throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which is of particular significance to the ongoing debate over Beethoven's tied-note notation. The technique is known as the string tremolo (or sometimes bow vibrato),[7] and its execution and effect were described by Carlo Farina in 1627. He explains that the string tremolo "is performed by a pulsation of the hand that holds the bow, in imitation of the effect of a tremulant on the organ",[8] and in 1642 Andreas Hammerschmidt observed – in the preface to his *Musikalischer Andachten Dritter Theil* – that:

> "In the violin parts, sometimes several notes will be found, namely
>
>
>
> which are meant in such a way that one plays four notes with one stroke of the bow (like a tremulant in an organ)".[9]

6 Daniel Gottlob Türk: *Klavierschule oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende*, Leipzig 1789, p. 293; Franz Paul Rigler: *Anleitung zum Klavier für musikalische Lehrstunden*, Vienna 1779, p. 36.

7 I am especially thankful to Professor Graham Sadler for drawing my attention to this technique.

8 "So wird das Tremuliren mit pulsirender Hand / darinnen man den Bogen hat / auff art [sic] des Tremulanten in den Orgeln imitiret." Carlo Farina: *Ander Theil newer Paduanen, Gagliarden, Couranten, Frantzösischen Arien*, Dresden 1627, the description can be found as point 8 in the section entitled *Etliche Nothwendige Erinnerungen wegen des Quotlibets von allerhand Inventionen*. All translations are mine.

9 "Es wird derselbe in den Violinen bißweilen etliche Noten / nemlich also [music example] finden / welche so gemeynt / daß man mit dem Bogen ihrer viere auff einen strich (gleichsam wie einen tremulanten in einer Orgel) machet". Andreas Hammerschmidt: *Musicalischer Andachten Dritter Theil* [...] *Sechste und Letzte Stimme*, Freiberg 1642, [Preface].

The string tremolo, which was used in passages of both quick and slow tempi, did have variations to the way in which it was notated as can be seen in the occurrences of its use in François Couperin's *Apothéose de Lully* (1725), marked 'viste' – the old French for 'vite' (quickly) where it is notated with a wavy line – in contrast to Jean-Féry Rebel's *Les Élémens* (1737), marked 'tres lent', where it is indicated with a slur (Figures 4 and 5).[10]

Figure 4 François Couperin: *Apothéose de Lully*, 'Rumeur Souter[r]aine', Paris 1725

Despite these slight variations, the examples above clearly demonstrate that the string tremolo was often notated by a slur (whether straight or wavy) across notes of the same pitch, with the number of notes varying according to the number of pulsations required, and in this form – especially when the straight slur is used – the notation bears a striking resemblance to Beethoven's tied-note notation. By the mid nineteenth century, the string tremolo does appear to have become much less popular, but it was still discussed in several treatises published throughout the century, thus implying that it was still in use, although perhaps to a lesser extent than in the previous century. For example, in 1803, Pierre Baillot, Pierre Rode and Rodolphe Kreutzer speak of a swelling and diminishing

10 In other instances, the string tremolo could also be notated by dots above the notes, similar to the *Bebung*.

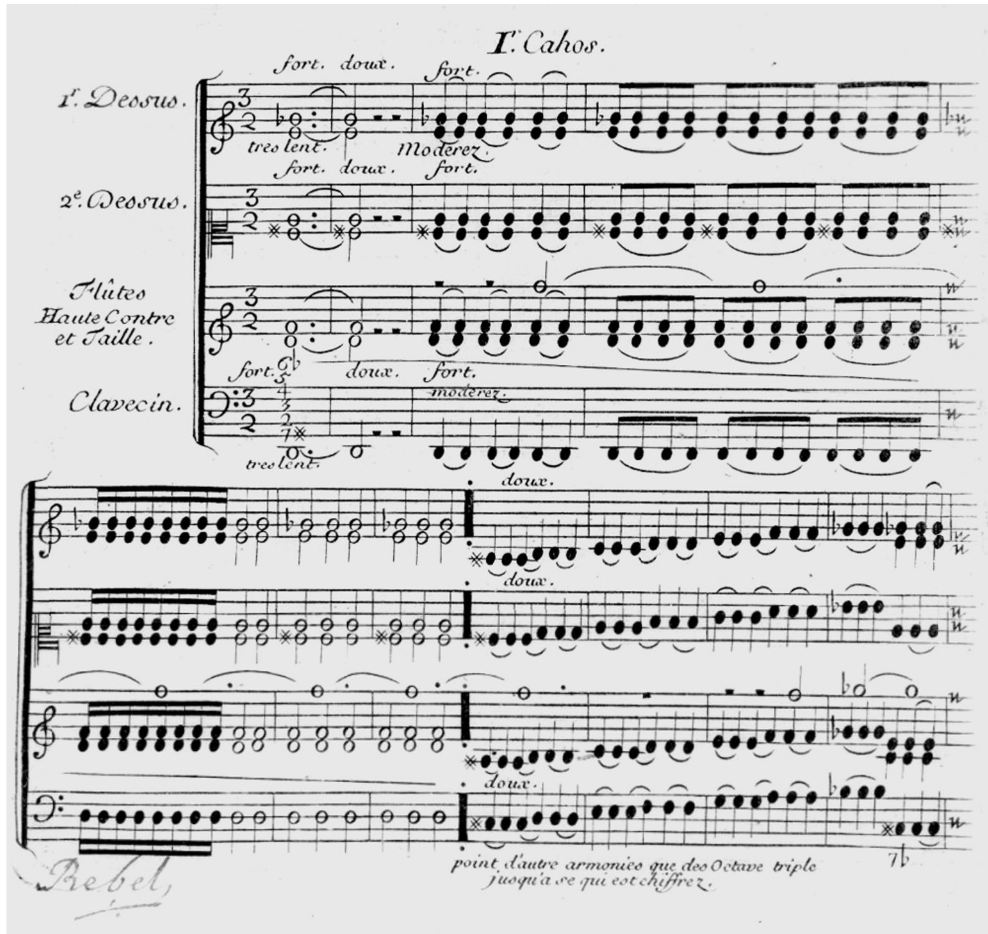


FIGURE 5 Jean-Féry Rebel: *Les Élémens*, '1 Cahos', Paris 1737

on individual notes by way of undulating the bow;[11] Joseph von Blumenthal (member of the orchestra of the Theater an der Wien) discusses a similar idea in 1811, describing how "one can make strong and loud twice in one bowstroke";[12] Johann Justus Friedrich Dotzauer (circa 1825) refers to a vibrato or tremolo which comes from the bow;[13] and in his *Grand traité d'instrumentation* Hector Berlioz acknowledges:

11 "On peut filer les sons d'une autre manière, en faisant faire une espèce d'ondulation à l'archet. Cela s'employe quelquefois dans les tenues et les points d'orgue, mais on doit user rarement de cette manière de filer les sons. – Le compositeur l'indique par ce signe ." Pierre Baillot/Pierre Rode/Rodolphe Kreutzer: *Méthode de Violon*, Paris 1803, pp. 136 f.

12 "Man kann auf diese Art zweymahl Stärke und Schwäche in einen Bogenstrich machen." Joseph von Blumenthal: *Theoretisch-praktische Violinschule*, Vienna 1811, p. 18.

13 Johann Justus Friedrich Dotzauer: *Méthode de Violoncelle/Violonzell-Schule*, Mainz ca 1825, p. 47.

> "There is a final type of tremolo which is rarely used today but which Gluck made admirable use of […], I will call it *tremolo ondulé*. It consists of the not-rapid sounding of notes that are tied together on the same pitch, and without the bow leaving the string."[14]

Thus, while a decline in popularity is evident, it is noteworthy that the string tremolo was still acknowledged in published treatises even as late as the 1890s. For example, in his *Le Virtuose moderne* (1895), Luis Alonso recognises that "bow vibrato is very elegant and is little used, for one hardly hears it, but it produces its visual effect, its elegance; it is a kind of serpentine slur."[15] The extent to which Beethoven himself was familiar with this technique – both from a visual perspective and from its performative realisation – however, must first be established before the string tremolo can be considered in relation to his tied-note notation.

During the period 1770–1790, the Bonn court orchestra became renowned for the calibre of its performances, and in particular its facility in creating musical nuance. The pivotal role that its concert master (1774) and musical director (1777) Cajetan Mattioli played in introducing and developing the mastery of these skills is discussed in an account detailing court music in Bonn, which was published in 1783, and which draws attention to these features:

> "He [Mattioli] studied in Parma with the first violinist Angelo Moriggi, a Tartinian pupil, and already in Parma, Mantua and Bologna conducted grand operas like *Alceste*, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, etc., by the Chevalier Gluck with acclaim. He owes much to the example of Chevalier Gluck in matters of leading an orchestra. […] He was the first to introduce in this orchestra instrumental accentuation or declamation, and the exact observation of Forte and Piano, or musical light and shade in all its gradations and levels. His bowing is very diverse. In all the qualities of a director he is in no way inferior to the famous Cannabich in Mannheim."[16]

14 "Il y a enfin une dernière espèce de tremolo qu'on n'emploie jamais aujourd'hui, mais dont Gluck a tiré un parti admirable […], je l'appellerai tremolo ondulé. Il consiste dans l'émission peu rapide de notes liées entre elles sur le même son et sans que l'archet quitte la corde." Hector Berlioz: *Grand traité d'instrumentation et orchestration modernes. Nouvelle édition*, Paris 1855, p. 19.

15 "Le vibrato de l'archet est très-élégant et s'emploie peu car on ne l'entend guère mais il produit son effet vu son élégance; c'est une espèce de coulé, serpenté." Luis Alonso: *Le Virtuose moderne, technique et gymnastique nouvelles pour arriver à la plus grande virtuosité sur le violon*, Paris 1895, p. IV.

16 "Er hat in Parma bey dem ersten Geiger, Herrn Angelo Moriggi, einem tartinischen Schüler, studirt, und schon in Parma, Mantua und Bologna grosse Opern: Alceste, Orpheus und Euridice &c. vom Ritter Gluck, mit Beyfalle dirigiret. Dem Beyspiel des Ritters Gluck, hat er viel in Absicht auf die Direction zu verdanken. […] Er hat zuerst die Accentuation oder Declamation auf Instrumenten, die genauste Beobachtung des Forte und Piano, oder des musicalischen Lichts und Schattens in allen Ab- und Aufstufungen im hiesigen Orchester eingeführt. Sein Bogen is sehr mannigfaltig. In allen Eigenschaften eines Directors steht er dem berühmten Cannabich zu Mannheim gar nicht nach." [Christian Gottlob Neefe]: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 377–396, here pp. 377 f.

Of particular significance here is the acknowledgement that Mattioli studied violin in Italy, that he introduced instrumental accentuation and declamation to the orchestra in Bonn, and that he utilised a diverse range of bowings. As discussed above, the string tremolo was a bowing technique that originated in Italy but was adopted by the French, and thus the acknowledgement that Mattioli not only studied violin in Italy but also that he owed much to Gluck is significant since in his descriptions of the string tremolo, Berlioz acknowledges Gluck as a significant proponent of the technique.[17]

As such, Mattioli provides Bonn with a direct link to the string tremolo via his studies in Italy and through the influence of Gluck. Even after his departure, Bonn's orchestra continued to impress critics and seemingly maintained the interpretative practices he had introduced, leading Carl Ludwig Junker in 1791 to draw attention again to the calibre of its performances, highlighting the orchestra's ability to create nuance, and notably singling out the strings for special attention; the longevity of Mattioli's influence is clear:

> "It was not possible to obtain a higher degree of exactness. Such perfection in pianos, fortes, rinforzandos, such swelling and gradual increase of tone and then such an almost imperceptible dying away, from the most powerful to the lightest accents – all this was formerly heard only in Mannheim. It would be difficult to find another orchestra in which the violins and basses are so thoroughly well-staffed as they are here."[18]

Further exposure to French performance techniques may also have come from the visiting Französische Hoftheater, who came to Bonn in January 1786 and stayed for two months, giving twenty-four performances in total, some of which were in the original French, and all of which would likely have required Bonn to provide the orchestra. The troupe proved very popular and Christian Gottlob Neefe (Beethoven's teacher in the 1780s) even reported in a letter to Gustav Friedrich Wilhelm Großmann, the former director of the court theatre, that the theatre had been full owing to the decision to stage their first performance for free.[19] Thus, during the period when Beethoven was living in Bonn, the court orchestra appears to have been renowned for the quality of its performances, and its string section noted for its ability to use diverse bowing techniques. There

17 Berlioz: *Grand traité d'instrumentation et orchestration modernes*, p. 19, quoted above.

18 "[...] die Aufführung konnte durchaus nicht pünktlicher seyn, als sie war. Eine solche genaue Beobachtung des Piano, des Forte, des Rinforzando, eine solche Schwellung, und allmählige Anwachsung des Tons, und dann wieder ein Sinkenlassen desselben, von der höchsten Stärke bis zum leisesten Laut, – – dies hörte man ehemals nur in Mannheim. Besonders wird man nicht leicht ein Orchester finden, wo die Violinen und Bässe so durchaus gut besetzt sind, als sie es hier waren." Carl Ludwig Junker: Noch etwas vom Kurköllnischen Orchester, in: *Musikalische Korrespondenz der teutschen Filarmonischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1791* 47 (1791), col. 373–376 and 379–382, here col. 376.

19 Ian Woodfield: Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre, with New Light on the Beethoven Family, in: *Music & Letters* 93 (2012), pp. 289–315.

were also clear opportunities for exposure to Italian and French performance techniques, notably via Mattioli, but also possibly through the visiting French troupe in 1786. But what of the repertoire itself? Did the operas performed in Bonn include any instances of the string tremolo and, by extension, would Beethoven have been exposed to them?

Beethoven's admiration for Gluck is well known. For example, the structure of his Fourth Piano Concerto Op. 58 and its similarity to the scene between Orpheus and the Furies from Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) has been discussed elsewhere.[20] Likewise, Beethoven's somewhat mysterious comment in his *Tagebuch* lists Gluck's name alongside Bach and Händel, both of whom he admired greatly. The entry reads: "The portraits of Haendel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Haydn in my room – they can help me to claim tolerance."[21] Further evidence of Beethoven's admiration for, and interest in, the music of Gluck is found in a letter dated circa 1806, which reveals that he had borrowed a copy of *Armide* (1777),[22] and scores of both *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779) and *Orfeo ed Euridice* were listed in Beethoven's estate at the time of his death.[23] He would also have had a number of opportunities to attend performances of Gluck's operas while living in Bonn: during the 1784/1785 season, Gluck's *Alceste* (1767), *Orfeo ed Euridice* and *La Rencontre imprévue* (1764) were performed, and notably, all three call for the use of the string tremolo.[24]

The operatic library of Maximilian Franz may also have provided Beethoven with further exposure to the music of Gluck since it contained scores to the operas *Iphigénie en Tauride*, *Armide*, *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774), *La Rencontre imprévue* (arranged for sextet and quintet), *Il Parnaso confuso* (1765), and *Tirsi e Nice* (1755).[25] And, thanks to annotations within the operatic catalogue of Maximilian Franz,[26] we also know that he was willing to loan out copies of his music to musicians in Bonn. Significantly, a small slip of paper can be found among the pages of this catalogue which reveals Beethoven to be one of the

20 See, for example, Adolf Bernhard Marx: *Ludwig van Beethoven. Leben und Schaffen*, Berlin 1859, Vol. 2, pp. 91–94; Owen Jander: *Beethoven's 'Orpheus' Concerto. The Fourth Piano Concerto in its Cultural Context*, New York 2009.

21 "Haendel, Bach, Gluck, Mozart Haydn's Portraite in meinem Zimmer – – – Sie können mir auf Duldung Anspruch machen helfen." Maynard Solomon: *Beethovens Tagebuch, 1812–1818*, Bonn 2005, p. 57.

22 Letter to Heinrich Joseph von Collin of early 1806 (No. 246). Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996/1997, Vol. 1, pp. 279–281.

23 Alexander Wheelock Thayer: *Life of Beethoven*, ed. by Elliot Forbes, Princeton 1967, Vol. 2, p. 1061.

24 In *Alceste* the string tremolo can be found in "Ciel! Tu pleures? Je tremble" and "Tu m'aimes, je t'adore", for example. Occurrences in *Orfeo* and *La Rencontre imprévue* will be discussed below.

25 Elisabeth Reisinger/Juliane Riepe/John D. Wilson/Birgit Lodes: *The Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz 1780–1794 Database*, www.univie.ac.at/operaticlibrary/db/ (last consulted 29 January 2021). *Tirsi e Nice* is otherwise known as *La danza*.

26 Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Cat. Gen. 53.

musicians who borrowed music from Maximilian Franz. The repertoire listed on the slip does not contain works by Gluck, instead revealing Beethoven's interest in Felice Giardini's Six Piano Quintets Op. 11 (1767) and Johann Christoph Schmügel's 12 *Préludes, fugues et autres pièces pour l'orgue* Op. 1 (1778),[27] but it remains uncertain if this represents the only occasion on which Beethoven borrowed music or whether this was an occasion on which works out on loan were merely recorded as missing from the library. It does seem, however, that while Beethoven was living in Bonn, he not only had the opportunity to hear performances of Gluck's operas that featured the string tremolo, but also that possibilities existed for him to access further scores by Gluck via the operatic library of Maximilian Franz.

Aside from operas by Gluck, Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny's *Le Déserteur* (1769) was especially popular in Bonn and was performed in the seasons 1779/1780, 1782/1783, 1786/1787,[28] and in 1787 there was a further aborted attempt in which only the rehearsal was staged.[29] Notwithstanding its popularity within the city itself, *Le Déserteur* also has particularly close connections to the Beethoven family from a performance perspective: Franz Gerhard Wegeler suggests that Beethoven's grandfather won praise for his role in an undated performance of this work;[30] Tobias Pfeiffer (Beethoven's teacher from the period circa 1779/1780) performed the role of Alexis, the soldier, in the 1779/1780 season; and in the projected performance of 1787, Beethoven's father was cast in the role of the father, the appropriately named Johann Ludwig.[31] *Le Déserteur* also includes the string tremolo,[32] and in his assessment of the aborted attempt of this opera, Ian Woodfield suggests that Beethoven may even have helped his father prepare for the role of Johann Ludwig by accompanying him in practice sessions and possibly may have taken part in the rehearsal himself.[33] Although plausible, doubt remains over this suggestion, however, since the public rehearsal took place around the beginning of May 1787, at which point Beethoven may or may not have returned from his first journey to Vienna.[34] Nonetheless, the close personal connection (and exposure) that Beethoven appears to have had with this opera

27 I am especially grateful to John D. Wilson for providing me with this information during the Coronavirus Pandemic of 2020.

28 *The Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz 1780–1794 Database.*

29 Woodfield: *Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre*, p. 303.

30 Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, p. 8. Although no further evidence supports this claim.

31 Woodfield: *Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre*, pp. 307–309.

32 See, for example, Act 1, Scene 4, and Act 3, Scene 11.

33 Woodfield: *Christian Gottlob Neefe and the Bonn National Theatre*; pp. 307–309.

34 Dieter Haberl: Beethovens erste Reise nach Wien. Die Datierung seiner Schülerreise zu W. A. Mozart, in: *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 14 (2006), pp. 215–255.

further increases the likelihood that he was aware of the string tremolo and its realisation in performance.

Beethoven joined the electoral orchestra as a violist in 1789, and when the court theatre re-opened after its lengthy five-year suspension, Gluck's *Die Pilgrime von Mecca*[35] was again performed during the 1789/1790 season.[36] When examining more closely the occurrences of the string tremolo in this opera, one can find it indicated in the viola part (Figure 6), the part Beethoven was performing, and crucially a part he was performing at a time contemporary to his sketching of the figuration in the *Fischhof Miscellany* (i.e., circa 1790), thus making the connection between Beethoven's tied-note notation and the string tremolo even stronger.

Further evidence dating from this period also confirms that Beethoven was using bowing techniques to inform his approach to keyboard touch: in a well-known sketch, he notes that legato on the piano should sound as if it were being "stroked with the bow" (Figure 7).

While it is possible to argue that this evidence may be circumstantial, further examples exist that connect Beethoven's direct exposure to the string tremolo with an occurrence of his tied-note notation. The first comes in the form of an anecdote written by Carl Czerny, in which he recalls Beethoven performing for French soldiers:

> "When the French were in Vienna for the first time, in 1805, several officers and generals who were musical once visited him and for them he played Gluck's *Iphigenie in Tauris* from the score, to which they sang the choruses and songs not at all badly. I begged the score from him and at home wrote out the piano arrangement as I had heard him play it."[37]

The string tremolo appears in this work (Figure 8), and so if Beethoven had been performing from the score as Czerny suggests, he arguably would have been required to interpret and recreate this effect on the piano. Moreover, the French invasion of Vienna is dated to November 1805 and (although it has a complex history) early sketches for the Cello Sonata Op. 69 are believed to date from circa 1806, and these early sketches contain ideas for the Scherzo, which also prominently features Beethoven's tied-note notation.[38]

35 The German translation of *La Rencontre imprévue*.

36 *The Operatic Library of Maximilian Franz 1780–1794 Database*.

37 "Als 1805 zum erstenmal die Franzosen in Wien waren, besuchten ihn einst mehrere *Officiere u Generale*, die musikalisch waren, und denen er *Glucks Iphigenie in Tauris* aus der *Partitur* spielte wozu sie die *Chöre* u Gesänge gar nicht übel sangen. Ich bat mir von ihm die Partitur aus, u schrieb zu Hause möglichst genau das *Clavier*arrangement so auf, wie ich es von ihm hörte." Czerny to Otto Jahn, quoted after *Beethoven aus der Sicht seiner Zeitgenossen in Tagebüchern, Briefen, Gedichten und Erinnerungen*, ed. by Klaus Martin Kopitz and Rainer Cadenbach, Munich 2009, Vol. 1, p. 228.

38 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Landsberg 10, pp. 49 f.

FIGURE 6 Gluck: *La Rencontre imprévue* [*Die Pilgrime von Mecca*], Act 2, "Vous ressemblez à la rose naissante", bars 1–6, after Manuscript copy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, VM2-518, circa 1790–1810

das schwere hiebey ist
diese ganze Passage so
zù schleifen daß man das
aufsezen der Finger gar nicht hören
kann, sondern als wenn es mit dem Bogen
gestrichen würde, so mùß es klingen

FIGURE 7 Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, Wegeler Collection, W3, fol. 1r, st. 11(8) & 12(8) (circa 1790)

FIGURE 8 Gluck: *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Act 4, Scene 1, "Je t'implore et je tremble", bars 23–29, after the edition Au Bureau du Journal de Musique, Paris 1779

Thus, Beethoven's impromptu performance of *Iphigenie in Tauris* may have reminded him of (or reignited his interest in) the string tremolo.

In addition, the aforementioned letter of 1806 to Heinrich Joseph von Collin, confirming Beethoven was in possession of a copy of *Armide* at this time, provides further evidence of Beethoven's exposure to the string tremolo at the time he was sketching initial ideas for the Cello Sonata. Notably, the Cello Sonata includes the tied-note notation in both the piano and cello parts, and Beethoven's uses of tied-note notation in string parts – in the cello part of Op. 69 and in the *Grosse Fuge* Op. 133 – have often raised further questions aside from those already discussed since he never provided further commentary; while fingerings were supplied for the piano (as discussed above), no such guidance is given for the strings. However, if Beethoven were indeed indicating the string tremolo, arguably he would not need to explain its execution in the string parts since (for him at least) it was an established technique that was already around 200 years old; the transference into keyboard technique, on the other hand, did require further explanation since this was new, and seemingly developed by Beethoven himself. Nonetheless, despite reference to it in string treatises throughout the nineteenth century, the notion that the string tremolo was still in use during this period is called into question by Karl Holz's enquiries into its execution. Holz was a violinist and conductor who became second violinist in Ignaz Schuppanzigh's quartet when it was formed in 1823, and he began to work as a copyist for Beethoven from 1825. In his conversation book entries to Beethoven in January 1826, corresponding to the time when Holz was preparing the piano arrangement of the *Grosse Fuge*, he asks Beethoven to clarify his tied-note notation, implying he was unfamiliar with this form:

> "Why have you written two eighths instead of $\frac{1}{4}$."[39]

Obviously, Beethoven's response is not known, but rather puzzlingly Holz asks the same question again in April 1826, barely four months after his first query. This time the question is slightly different, but Holz is clearly repeating his uncertainty over the interpretation of the notation. He asks: "whether the notes may be contracted/drawn together as ".[40] Setting aside the repeated request for clarification, Holz's apparent unfamiliarity with the technique might be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, he simply may have been unaware of the string tremolo: while little is known of his

39 "Warum haben Sie zwey Achtel [music example] geschrieben, anstatt $\frac{1}{4}$." Ludwig van Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 8: Hefte 91–103, ed. by Karl-Heinz Köhler and Grita Herre, Leipzig 1981, p. 243.

40 "Ob die Noten [music example] in eine solche [music example] dürfen zusam̄engezogen werden". Ludwig van Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 9: Hefte 104–113, ed. by Grita Herre, Leipzig 1988, p. 194.

musical training, he was regarded as a competent violinist but was an official in the finance ministry of the Lower Austrian Landstände; he was not a court musician nor considered a virtuoso. In fact, his unsuccessful substitution for Schuppanzigh as first violinist in a private performance of the String Quartets Opp. 127 and 132 apparently gave rise to the canon WoO 204 "Holz, Holz, geigt die Quartette so, als ob sie Kraut eintreten" [Holz, Holz fiddles the quartets as if he were stamping on cabbage].[41] Secondly, given he was born in 1799 and it appears that treatises of the nineteenth century acknowledge that the string tremolo was little used, it may be that he had never encountered it, especially since arguably he would not have had the exposure to French performance techniques that Beethoven did in Bonn. And, thirdly, as a violinist, he may have been unaware of Beethoven's previous uses of it as a piano technique in Opp. 69, 106 and 110, and was simply seeking extra clarification while preparing the arrangement; given the notorious state of Beethoven's handwriting in his manuscripts, who can blame him? Therefore, Holz's entries in the conversation books arguably raise more questions about his own musical awareness and desire to seek clarification when preparing the piano arrangement than perhaps they do of Beethoven's use of tied-note notation.

Finally, the musical contexts in which the string tremolo appeared also must be considered to help determine if Beethoven were evoking this technique. Typically, it appears to have been reserved for passages of high emotion, and in his study of the string tremolo during the seventeenth century, Stewart Carter has identified several specific instances in which it often appeared. He notes:

> "In concerted vocal music it sometimes serves to highlight texts dealing with death or sorrow, while in instrumental music it is often used for a short, affective interlude. Later in the century it is also used to express fear, or trembling from the cold."[42]

Carter's assessment is also applicable to examples from the eighteenth century. For instance, the string tremolo appears in Jean-Philippe Rameau's first opera of 1733, *Hippolyte et Aricie* where the setting is Hades and the sea begins to boil, and in Gluck's *Orfeo*, it appears alongside the word "tremble" (Figures 9 and 10).

One can certainly describe the *Grosse Fuge*, *Hammerklavier*, and the scherzo of Op. 69 as highly emotive, and thus Beethoven's usage of it does appear to adhere to these principles. However, if one returns once more to Berlioz, he provides one further example of the context in which the string tremolo appeared – the recitative: "There is a

41 The canon appears in Beethoven's conversation book from September 1825 and was possibly entered by Holz himself. Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 8, p. 172.

42 Stewart Carter: The String Tremolo in the 17th Century, in: *Early Music* 19 (1991), pp. 42–59, here p. 56.

Figure 9 Rameau: Hippolyte et Aricie, Act 3, Scene 9, "Frémissement des flots", bars 1–18, after the edition l'Hauteur/Le Clerc/Boivin, Paris 1733

final type of tremolo which is rarely used today but which Gluck made admirable use of in his recitatives."[43]

The *Recitative* to Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 110 contains perhaps the most famous example of his tied-note notation (Figure 1c, above), and in this instance he is indeed using the string tremolo in one of its original contexts, and – as inferred by Berlioz – one favoured by Gluck. Arguably, however, his other uses as discussed above also fit the dramatic, emotive settings in which the string tremolo was historically featured. Therefore, Beethoven's sympathetic use of tied-note notation in musical contexts that correspond to the original settings in which the string tremolo was popularly used, further strengthens the notion that this was indeed the technique to which he was alluding in these works.

43 "[…] dans ses récitatifs". Berlioz: *Grand traité d'instrumentation et orchestration modernes*, p. 19; full quote above p. 106.

FIGURE 10 Gluck: *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Act 3, Recitativo, "Qual vita è questa mai", bars 19–25, after the edition s. n., Paris 1764

In conclusion, the figuration in the *Fischhof Miscellany* has added a significant new piece of evidence to the ongoing debate over the meaning and execution of Beethoven's tied-note notation, and relevantly, enables a connection with the string tremolo to be established. Unlike the *Bebung* technique proposed in earlier theories, however, the string tremolo does provide a model which fits notationally, contextually and chronologically. Having established the Bonn court orchestra's technical mastery and exposure to French performance techniques, it is likely that Beethoven would have known first-hand of this technique through operatic performances in Bonn, through personal connections to those who performed in works that included the technique, and most notably as a viola player in the court orchestra, performing *Die Pilgrime von Mecca* at the time he sketched the piano figuration (Figure 2, above). Thus, if the string tremolo becomes a guide for performative interpretation, the technique would now be referred to as a form of 'intensity vibrato' in which the bow is gently pressed and released within a single stroke,

and this style of execution does appear to correspond with Czerny's advice on how to execute the tied-note notation in Op. 69:

> "The Ligaturen in the right hand and the fingering placed over them, here signify something quite peculiar. Thus, the second tied/legato note is audibly struck again with the 3rd finger, so that it sounds something like this:
>
>
>
>
> that means, the first note (with the 4th finger) very tenuto, and the other (with the 3rd finger) staccato and less marked: and so everywhere. The 4th finger must thereby slide downwards and make way for the 3rd."[44]

Czerny's acknowledgement that the notation is "quite peculiar" (peculiar being used here in its original context as belonging characteristically to one person) even corresponds to Berlioz's own affirmation that the notation was "rarely used". This interpretation is also shared by the pianist Charles Hallé (1819–1895), who was a renowned interpreter of Beethoven's piano works.[45] In his *Practical Pianoforte School*, Hallé includes a footnote on the execution of the tied-note passage in Op. 110, explaining that "The second note, played with the second [third] finger, is to be sounded softly (not tied to the first.)"[46] Taken alone, this remark in and of itself is perhaps of little value other than providing another interpretation that supports Czerny's view. However, Hallé was also a close friend of Berlioz, and he edited a number of Gluck's editions with the assistance and advice of Berlioz.[47] In a letter to his wife, dated 17 August 1860, Hallé reveals:

> "I spent nearly the whole day yesterday with Berlioz; we went through the score of 'Armida,' and, from memory, the whole of 'Iphigenia,' and I learned many things that I was ignorant of and which he

44 "Die Ligaturen in der rechten Hand, und die darüber gesetzte Fingersetzung bedeuten hier etwas ganz Eigenthümliches. Die zweite, (gebundene) Note wird nämlich mit dem 3ten Finger auch wieder hörbar angeschlagen, so dass es ungefähr so lauten muss: [music example] das heisst, die erste Note (mit dem 4ten Finger) sehr tenuto, und die and're (mit dem 3ten Finger[)] kurz abgestossen und weniger markirt. Und so überall. Der 4te Finger muss dabei abwärts gleiten, und dem 3ten Platz machen." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur grossen Pianoforte-Schule op. 500*, Vienna [1846], Kapitel II: § 14, p. 90.

45 Hallé was born in Hagen and moved to Paris in 1836. He stayed there until 1848, at which point he moved to England, firstly to London and then to Manchester in 1853 where he remained for the rest of his life. He is arguably best remembered as the founder of Manchester's Hallé Orchestra but was also a celebrated pianist and in 1861 gave the first known cycle of the Beethoven piano sonatas.

46 *Charles Hallé's Practical Pianoforte School. Sonata in A Flat Op. 110 by L. van Beethoven*, Section V. No. 1, Manchester 1874, p. 14. In this edition Hallé uses the English system of fingering whereby the thumb is indicated as "+", the index finger as "1", the middle finger as "2" and so on.

47 Hallé produced editions of *Armide*, *Orfeo*, *Iphigénie en Tauride* and *Iphigénie en Aulide*.

knows by tradition. He showed me effects that I should never have discovered by myself. I am therefore very pleased to have seen him."[48]

As we have seen above, both *Armide* and *Iphigénie* include the string tremolo, and thus it seems highly likely that Hallé's interpretation of the tied-note passage in Op. 110 derives from his experience of working with Berlioz on the editing of Gluck's manuscripts, which in turn further supports the view that Beethoven was evoking the string tremolo in these passages. Beethoven's trialling of two different fingerings (3-2 and 4-3) in the *Fischhof Miscellany* and his ultimate use of only 4-3 in the published examples suggests that he found this fingering the most desirable in achieving the effect for which he was aiming; sliding from a shorter finger to a longer one (rather than the opposite) arguably appears to have been both more comfortable and convincing for him, and thus certainly suggests a slurred approach to the finger change.[49] Therefore, in this sense, Beethoven's notorious 'tied-note notation' perhaps should no longer be regarded as such, and instead the indication reconsidered as a slur wherein both notes are necessarily sounded. His choice to use a conventional straight slur rather than the wavy line as seen in some of the published examples discussed above may even have been rooted in a desire to emphasise the sense of one continuous movement and the need for the notation to sound as if it were indeed "being stroked with the bow".

48 "Avec Berlioz j'ai passé presque toute la journée d'hier: nous avons parcouru toute la partition d''Armide,' et, de souvenir, toute celle d' 'Iphigénie,' et j'ai appris bien des choses que je ne connaissais pas et qu'il sait de tradition; il m'a montré des effets que je n'aurais pas pu trouver seul, je suis donc bien content de l'avoir vu." *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé Being an Autobiography* (1819–1860) *with Correspondence and Diaries*, ed. by Charles E. Hallé and Marie Hallé, London 1896, pp. 257 f.

49 This point of course acknowledges that individual hand sizes/shapes/length of fingers vary, and what for one hand may seem easier may be the opposite for another.

Marten Noorduin

Beethoven's Indicators of Expression in His Piano Works

Despite the intense interest that Beethoven has enjoyed in both scholarship and performance over the last years, a review of recently published editions of the piano sonatas has shown that the number of real editorial improvements that can realistically still be made in this repertoire has probably reached its limits.[1] There may be several other pieces by Beethoven with or for piano where there is still much important editorial work to do, some of which are addressed in this very volume, but for Beethoven's piano sonatas, which probably constitute the most published music on this planet, there seems to be very little space for another edition that focuses mostly or exclusively on the text.

Much more fruitful, then, is to address the elephant in the room: the substantial gap between current performance practices and the historical evidence. Here, an edition that includes research-led commentary can really make a difference, and there are some recent examples of editions that have done so with notable success, such as the recent Bärenreiter edition of the violin sonatas by Neal Peres Da Costa and Clive Brown.[2] Furthermore, there has been a wealth of research on pretty much all aspects of performance practice for piano that future editions can draw on, some of which can be found in this volume.

Nevertheless, despite all of this work, there is one aspect that has hitherto been largely ignored, as Beethoven's uses of the expressive indications like *dolce*, *cantabile*, and *espressivo* have never been systematically explored.[3] One partial explanation is that for many, these indications do not need much explaining, as on the face of it they seem self-explanatory and are simply used to heighten expression in a particular way. As this article will show, when seen from a historical perspective this is clearly not the case, and these indications contain more information than is often assumed.

In 1829, two years after Beethoven died, the German music theorist Johann Daniel Andersch compared understanding the appropriate expression in music with the philological work done on hieroglyphics, a grand project at the time that, with the help of the Rosetta Stone, would soon lead to a workable translation of Egyptian hieroglyphics:

1 Marten Noorduin: Is There Any Scope for Another Edition of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas?, in: *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 17/2 (2020), pp. 329–340.

2 *Ludwig van Beethoven: Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin* (3 volumes), ed. by Clive Brown and Neal Peres Da Costa, Kassel 2020.

3 For an example of a study that examines this issue through a more theoretical perspective, see Sara Ellen Eckerson: *Beethoven's Dolce: Interpretation, Performance and Description. The Case of Music*, PhD thesis, University of Lisbon, 2016.

DOI: 10.26045/kp64-6180-006

> "Expression in performance: the true display or reproduction of the character given to the work by the composer, or of the feelings indicated by the same. The black characters of the notation are not just [indicating] throat and finger dexterity, but are rather hieroglyphs, in which a deep meaning can be sensed, which needs to be discovered, grasped, and explained to others."[4]

The comparison between translating Egyptian hieroglyphics – at the time arguably the most well-known intellectual problem on the planet[5] – and trying to understand the indicators of expression in music may be very apt, and there were several precedents for doing so.[6] Both can be translated with external sources: hieroglyphs with the Rosetta Stone and expressive indications with treatises and musical dictionaries. Neither of these sources, however, quite fit the original text: the hieroglyphs on the Rosetta Stone do not completely correspond to the Ancient Greek text, and composers' use of expressive indications is often highly individual and dependent on a variety of contextual and developmental factors. Thus, in both cases the best approach seems to be to take account of the consistencies within the text and use the translation to make educated guesses as to its intended meaning. Building on this perceived similarity between hieroglyphics and expressive indications, this paper will offer an interpretation of Beethoven's expressive indications, focussing in particular on three of the most common expressive indications in Beethoven's oeuvre: *espressivo*, *dolce*, and *cantabile*.

In general, Beethoven often used expressive indications with material of structural importance. As Barry Cooper has shown, the "Freude" theme from the fourth movement of the Ninth Symphony is foreshadowed several times throughout the preceding movements.[7] In each case, the relevant material is marked with an expressive indication, as can be seen in Figure 1. A phrase resembling the "Freude" theme appears in bar 74 in the woodwinds, and it is marked *dolce*, the first appearance of that indication in the symphony. When this material re-appears in the recapitulation in the horn, it even contains the same pitches as the first full expression of the theme in the final movement; the preceding *dolce* presumably applies to this material too. The trio of the second movement contains very similar musical material in the oboe in bar 413 in a passage that includes even the same decrescendo into *dolce* as the horns in the previous movement. The third movement

4 "Ausdruck im Vortrage: Das richtige Darstellen oder Wiedergeben des von dem Tonsetzer seiner Arbeit gegebenen Charakters, oder der in demselben gezeichneten Gefühle. Nicht bloße Gegenstände für mechanische Kehl- und Fingerfertigkeit sind die schwarzen Charaktere der Notenschrift, sondern Hieroglyphen sind sie, in welchen ein tiefer Sinn zu ahnen ist, der entdeckt, erfaßt und andern erklärt werden soll." Johann Daniel Andersch: *Musikalisches Woerterbuch für Freunde und Schüler der Tonkunde*, Berlin 1829, p. 37. All translations by the present author unless otherwise stated.

5 Jed Z. Buchwald/Diane Greco Josefowicz: *The Riddle of the Rosetta. How an English Polymath and a French Polyglot Discovered the Meaning of Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, Princeton 2020.

6 Denis Diderot: *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, Paris 1751, pp. 215 f.

7 Barry Cooper: *Beethoven*, Oxford 2008, pp. 336 f.

includes the most literal foreshadowing of them all in which two *cantabile* passages in the winds and strings spell out the theme that will soon be sung in the last movement. In short, these expressive indications are in some sense also structural indications, as they mark the themes and motives that tie the whole symphony together.

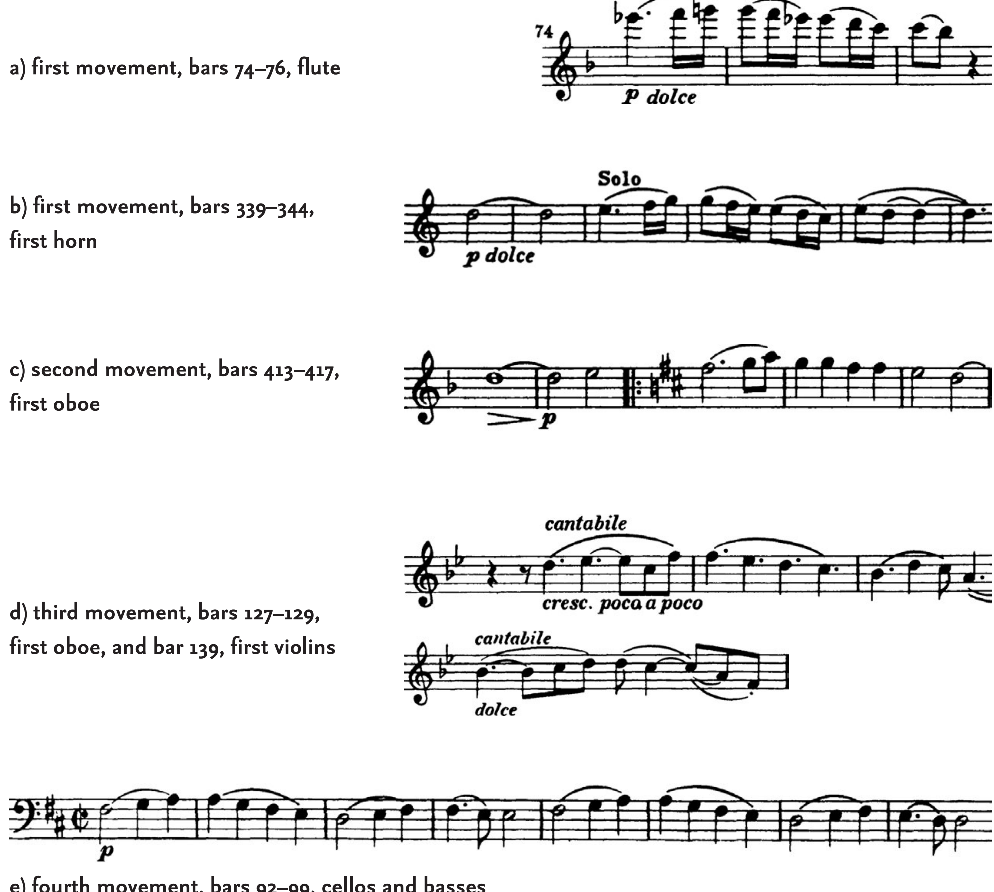


Figure 1 **Thematic coherence indicated by expressive indications in the Ninth Symphony**

Secondly, Beethoven seems to have been somewhat inconsistent with the use of expression indications, and they are unequally divided across his oeuvre, with his later works generally having more of these indications than his earlier works. The most indications are found in the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies; the third movement of the former counts no fewer than 25 *dolce*, and there are as many as 57 occurrences in the first movement of the latter. Most other works – even the late ones – have far fewer of these indications, and in most works with piano the number of expressive indications can be counted on the fingers of two hands.

But what were these indications meant to convey? To answer that question, I will focus on the ways in which Beethoven uses these indications within the somewhat more constrained set of pieces that are the focus of this volume, starting with *espressivo*, the most general of the expressive indications.

Espressivo In his 1802 musical dictionary, the theorist Heinrich Christoph Koch defined *espressivo* as a word that contributes to the enhancement of the expression

> "[…] in a principal voice. If found at the start of a piece as adjective to the heading, this means that it applies to the entire piece; if found here and there in the middle, it only applies in the passage where it is found, which, much like in the first case of the entire piece, the composer wants to have performed extremely pleasantly."[8]

About three decades later, Beethoven's student Carl Czerny refreshingly cut to the heart of the matter in his *Pianoforte School* Op. 500 and simply recommended that, in almost every case in which a composer writes *espressivo*, it is appropriate to slow down.[9] Although some have taken Czerny's words to be directly representative of Beethoven's performance practice, recent work has problematised this interpretation. The core of the criticism is the fact that Czerny by the 1840s is far more interested in giving rules on how to play effectively in the 1840s than he is in transmitting an older style of performance.[10] Czerny has stated as much himself in the fourth part of his *Pianoforte School*:

> "[Beethoven's] performance depended on his constantly varying frame of mind, and even if it were possible exactly to describe his style of playing, it would not always serve us as a model, (in regard to the present otherwise cultivated purity and clearness in difficulties); and even the mental conception acquires a different value through the altered taste of the time, and must occasionally be expressed by other means, than were then demanded."[11]

8 "[…] um auf die Verstärkung des Ausdrucks bei der Ausführung einer Hauptstimme aufmerksam zu machen. Stehet es zu Anfange eines Tonstückes als Beywort der Ueberschrift, so beziehet es sich auf das ganze Tonstück; kommt es aber nur hier oder da in der Mitte desselben vor, so erstreckt sich seine Beziehung bloß auf die Stelle, wo es stehet, die sodann, so wie im ersten Falle das ganze Tonstück, der Tonsetzer vorzüglich anziehend vorgetragen haben will." Heinrich Christoph Koch: *Musikalisches Lexikon*, Frankfurt am Main 1802, col. 545.

9 Carl Czerny: *Von dem Vortrage. Dritter Theil aus Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule op. 500*, Vienna 1839, pp. 25 f.

10 Marten Noorduin: Re-Examining Czerny's and Moscheles's Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas, in: *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 15/2 (2018), pp. 209–235.

11 "Indessen hing er dabei von seinen stets wechselnden Launen ab, und wenn es auch möglich wäre, seine Spielweise ganz genau wiederzugeben, so könnte sie, (in Bezug auf die jetzt ganz anders ausgebildete Reinheit und Deutlichkeit bei Schwierigkeiten) uns nicht immer als Muster dienen; und selbst die geistige Auffassung erhält durch den veränderten Zeitgeschmack eine and're Geltung, und muss bisweilen durch and're Mittel ausgedrückt werden, als damals erforderlich waren." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Piano-*

So whether or not any of Czerny's comments actually represent what Beethoven had in mind is debatable. Simply put, Czerny is not the Rosetta Stone that some people have said he was.

The question then remains, what can be learned from the ways in which Beethoven used *espressivo*? Firstly, it appears in 85 movements as an expressive indicator by my count,[12] and in a variety of genres, from piano pieces to orchestral works to songs. Secondly, much like Koch recommends, the term only seems to appear in principal voices, even in chamber or orchestral works. In other words, no accompaniment figure is ever marked *espressivo*. Thirdly, it is used in a variety of tempos, from Largo to Allegro, but does not appear in the fastest tempos.

On the whole, *espressivo* appears in three different places in Beethoven's compositions. Firstly, it is used to mark an important new theme, such as a second theme. Examples of this are found in virtually all genres that include the piano (see Figure 2): the second theme is marked *espressivo* in, amongst others, the first movements of the Piano Sonatas Opp. 2 No. 2 and 101, in the second movement of the Cello Sonata Op. 102 No. 2, in the second movement of the *Emperor* Concerto Op. 73, where it is the theme with which the piano opens, and there are many other examples.

The second way in which Beethoven uses the term is to draw attention to motifs of themes that have already appeared, as can be seen in Figure 3. This somewhat more nuanced use of the term can be seen in the second movement of the *Kreutzer* Sonata, for instance, where the *espressivo* in variation 3 seems to refer back to bar 5 of the theme; and the same expression in the *Choral Fantasy* Op. 80 marks some material that at first sight seems a mere decorative flourish but upon further examination calls back to the opening material from the piano solo fantasy. Something similar happens in the third movement of the *Hammerklavier* Sonata Op. 106, where *espressivo* is used to highlight material based on the opening theme. One somewhat exceptional use of *espressivo* occurs in the first movement of Op. 70 No. 2, where the term appears at the end of the Sostenuto introduction to foreshadow the following Allegro theme, but the same principle applies. There

forte-Schule op. 500, Vienna [1846], p. 34. English: Carl Czerny: *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Pianoforte Works. Being a Supplement to the Royal Pianoforte School Op. 500*, trans. by John Bishop, London [1846], p. 32.

12 These are Opp. 1 No. 2/ii; 1 No. 3/i; 2 No. 2/i; 3/iv; 15/ii; 29/ii; 30 No. 2/iv; 35; 43/iii; 47/ii; 54/ii; 55/i & ii; 56/i & ii; 58/i & ii; 59 No. 1/iii; 59 No. 2/ii; 60/ii; 69/i; 70 No. 2/i; 72a; 73/i & ii & iii; 74/i & ii; 77; 79/ii; 80; 81a/i & iii; 84/vi; 85/iii; 94; 95/ii & iii & iv; 96/ii; 97/iii & iv; 98/i; 101/i & iv; 102 No. 1/i; 102 No. 2/i & ii; 104/i & iv; 105 Nos. 3 & 4; 106/i & iii; 107 Nos. 3 & 6 & 7; 108 No. 15; 109/i & ii & iii; 111/i & ii; 113/vii; 118; 120 Var. 30 & 31; 123/ii & iv & v; 125/i & iii & iv; 130/i; 131/ii & vii; 132/i & iii & iv; WoO 27/iii; 28; 40; 66; 93; 130. See also the database of Beethoven's entire oeuvre at https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6395027 (last accessed 20 September 2022).

a) Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 2, first movement, bars 58–62

b) Piano Sonata Op. 101, first movement, bars 25–27

c) Piano Concerto Op. 73, second movement, bars 16 f.

d) Cello Sonata Op. 102 No. 2, second movement, bars 7–10

FIGURE 2 *Espressivo* used to introduce new themes

are plenty of other examples of this, sometimes marked with *con espressione*, such as in the first movement of the Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, in which thematic motifs are recalled.

Thirdly, *espressivo* is used in longer sections or even entire movements, and, as Koch suggested, it seems likely that the intended effect of *espressivo* needs to be applied throughout in these pieces. Most of these sections are relatively short introductions or single variations in a set, but there are a small number of longer movements that also have this indication.[13]

13 *Espressivo* is used in this way in Opp. 5 No. 2/i; 24/ii; 29/ii; 30 No. 1/ii; 70 No. 1/ii; 81a/ii; 83 No. 1; 96/ii & iv; 105 No. 4; 107 Nos. 9 & 10; 109/i & iii; 110/i; 120 Var. 31; 121a; 123/iii; 130/v; 131/i; and WoO 76.

a) Violin Sonata Op. 47, second movement, theme, bars 1–5, and variation 3, bar 5

b) Choral Fantasy Op. 80, bars 1 and 307–309

c) Piano Sonata Op. 106, third movement, bars 1–4, 26, and 85–88

d) Piano Trio Op. 70 No. 2, first movement, bars 15–20

FIGURE 3 *Espressivo* used to highlight motifs

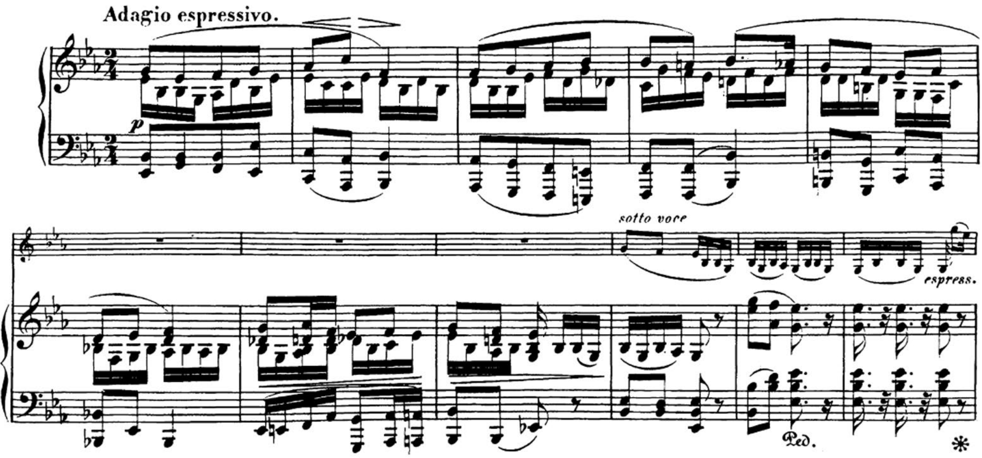
How might Beethoven have envisioned the effect of *espressivo*? Some clues can be found in Beethoven's late works, where the notation becomes more explicit than in his earlier works, and particularly the Piano Sonatas Opp. 109 and 111 can be considered the equivalent of the Rosetta Stone for *espressivo*. The second movement of the former contains several instances in which the term *espressivo* is followed by *a tempo* a few bars later. The same can be observed in the first movement of Op. 111, where Beethoven also adds an explicit instruction to slow down as well as dynamic hairpins. So it is clear from context that *espressivo* is, at least in some cases, associated with slowing down. Furthermore, the hairpins found in Opp. 109 and 111 are also found throughout many longer sections and movements that have *espressivo* as part of the tempo indication, as can be seen in Figure 4a–g below.

So there is a whole range of pieces marked *espressivo*, all of which contain dynamic hairpins or something very similar such as a crescendo followed by subito *piano*. The only two pieces marked *espressivo* without extensive hairpins in Beethoven's oeuvre are in fact the seventh variation (*Adagio molto e espressivo*) from WoO 76 (which only contains a *cresc.* that goes to *piano* towards the end) as well as the folksong variations Op. 105 No. 4, which are marked *Andante espressivo assai* but which do not contain any dynamic indications at all.

It is worth noticing that all of the movements that contain *espressivo* in their tempo indications are slow movements and that Beethoven's slow movements were probably

a) Piano Sonata Op. 109, second movement, bars 29–33 and 120–124

b) Piano Sonata Op. 111, first movement, bars 34 f. and 99 f.



c) Violin Sonata Op. 96, second movement, bars 1–11

Figure 4 Changes in dynamics and tempo as a consequence of *espressivo*

d) Song Op. 83 No. 1 (continued next page)

2(58)
ritard.
trock_net nicht, Thrä_nen un_glück_li_cher Lie_be, un_glück_li_cher Lie - - be!
cresc.
sf
sf
ritard.
a tempo
Trock_net nicht,
trock_net nicht, Thrä - nen un - glück - li - cher Lie - be!
a tempo
cresc.
f
dim.
p
f
un - glück - li - cher Lie - be! Trock_net nicht!
dim.
p
B. 221.

e) String Quartet Op. 130, Cavatina, fifth movement, bars 1–6

f) String Quartet Op. 131, first movement, bars 1–8

g) Piano Sonata Op. 109, third movement, variation 1

intended to be more flexible than his fast movements on account of the greater variety of note values present in the former.[14] If that is indeed correct, then this would explain why a flexible tempo is not explicitly indicated in these movements, as it was implied by the tempo indication already, and why only the dynamic indications needed to be added for the desired effect to be achieved. In summary, rather than merely meaning slowing down, as some seem to have assumed, on the basis of the evidence, it seems that *espressivo* was likely meant to communicate both dynamic and tempo flexibility.

At this point, however, sceptics might wonder why Beethoven would write the same thing twice, i. e. write *espressivo* and then also write down what it means, as he does in the piano sonatas Opp. 109 and 111 (see above). Many aspects of Beethoven's notation in his later works, however, are tautological: he often wrote the same expression in both German and Italian, such as in Opp. 101 and 110, and also used what Thomas Schmidt has called "cautionary dynamics", repeated instances of the same or similar dynamic markings, such as ***pp*** followed by *sempre* ***pp***,[15] in order to ensure that performers knew what he had in mind. So writing *espressivo* and then also indicating the supposed effects of this indication was not something that was beyond Beethoven and fits perfectly within the pattern of increasingly explicit markings observed in Beethoven's later works.

If this interpretation of *espressivo* is correct, then it would explain why many nineteenth-century editions insert hairpins in so many places marked *espressivo*.[16] Consider, for instance, the Cello Sonata Op. 5 No. 2 which opens with a lengthy slow section marked *Andante sostenuto e espressivo*. In several nineteenth-century editions of this sonata, hairpins are added, and although no editor seems to precisely agree with any other where they should go, it seems very likely that the addition of these in principle conforms to Beethoven's understanding of *espressivo*. Figure 5 shows the cello part of Friedrich Grützmacher's edition of Beethoven's Op. 5 No. 2, with his additional indications marked. Admittedly, tempo flexibility, the other part of *espressivo*, is generally not indicated, but most editors were somewhat shy with those markings anyway, probably in part because, as is quite widely accepted now, in the nineteenth-century flexible tempos were the norm.[17]

14 Marten Noorduin: *Beethoven's Tempo Indications*, PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2016, pp. 167 f.

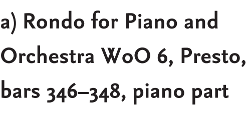
15 Thomas Schmidt: Preventive and Cautionary Dynamics in the Symphonies of Mendelssohn and his Time, in: *The Journal of Musicology* 31/1 (2014), pp. 43–90, here pp. 59 f.

16 See Brown/Peres Da Costa: *Beethoven Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin, Performing Practice Commentary*, pp. 22 f.

17 See Clive Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford 2004; Neal Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record. Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, Oxford 2012, amongst others.

FIGURE 5 **Cello Sonata Op. 5 No. 2, ed. by Friedrich Grützmacher, cello part. Additions by the editor marked in brackets by the CHASE Project (http://mhm.hud.ac.uk/chase/, last consulted 15 September 2022).**

Dolce What about other indications of expression? As stated before, *dolce* is one of the most common expressive indicators, and at first sight it often appears to be used in a way very similar to *espressivo*. It also appears to mark mostly second themes as well as some motifs that have already appeared. However, it is sometimes used very differently from *espressivo*, and appears in some of the fastest music that Beethoven wrote. Even in slow movements, it is often used in combination with the shortest note values of the movement, as can be seen in the Violin Sonata Op. 96 in Figure 6. Furthermore, unlike *espressivo*, it also occurs in voices other than what is at the time the principal one. So *dolce* is clearly a different kind of indication from *espressivo*.



a) Rondo for Piano and Orchestra WoO 6, Presto, bars 346–348, piano part

b) Piano Sonata Op. 79, first movement, Presto, bars 67–70

c) Piano Trio Op. 70 No. 1, third movement, Presto, bars 19–25, piano part

d) Violin Sonata Op. 96, second movement, Adagio espressivo, bars 18 f.

e) Piano Concerto Op. 73, second movement, bars 57–61, piano part

f) Song "An die Hoffnung" Op. 94, bars 62–64

FIGURE 6 Beethoven's uses of *dolce*

The difference between *dolce* and *espressivo* is borne out in the definitions that theorists contemporary with Beethoven gave. These are notably more straightforward than in the case of *espressivo*: Jean-Jacques Rousseau simply defined it as the French equivalent of the Italian dynamic indication *piano*,[18] and Daniel Andersch defined it as "quietly and sweetly".[19] Koch gave the most expansive definition as needing "a somewhat weak tone, because if one says something sweetly or pleasantly, one speaks with a quiet and dampened voice".[20] Lastly, Hummel, in his *Anweisung*, simply listed *dolce* as a dynamic indication along with *piano*, *mezzo forte*, and others.[21]

All of this is to say that, unlike *espressivo*, *dolce* does not seem to imply any change in tempo in itself and instead implies a particularly sweet and quiet tone of voice. And this seems to make sense in the context of Beethoven's use of this term: across Beethoven's oeuvre, many passages are marked "piano e dolce".[22] Furthermore, there are several cases in which a decrescendo goes straight into a *dolce*, as if it were a dynamic indication, which is then followed by a crescendo. So it seems that *dolce* fulfils a role somewhat similar but not identical to that of *piano*: to indicate a quiet and somewhat sweet tone of voice.

Here, one could ask whether *piano* and *dolce* are synonyms in Beethoven's works, as Rousseau implies. After all, we determined the meaning of *espressivo* by looking at the context, so if *piano* and *dolce* often appear together or in close proximity, why could they not be the same?

The answer has to do with the fact that in Beethoven's oeuvre, *dolce* and *piano* appear together in the earliest works, when his scores are, for a lack of a better word, less explicit than in some of his later works. Furthermore, there are several cases in which *piano* and *dolce* are clearly contrasted. In the Righini Variations, for instance, every single variation starts with a dynamic marking, even if it is identical to the dynamic level at the end of the previous variation. Variations 1 and 13, however, are only marked "dolce", which, if the term were synonymous with *piano*, would be a very odd thing to do.

So it seems most likely that *dolce* was meant to indicate both a quiet dynamic and a particularly pleasant tone colour. In this sense, it is notable that *dolce* often – but not always – appears in passages for the piano that use one or more of the pedals in order to

18 Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Dictionnaire de Musique*, Paris 1775, Vol. 1, p. 221.

19 "Sanft, zärtlich mit lieblichem Vortrage." Andersch: *Musikalisches Woerterbuch*, p. 135.

20 "Es erfordert aber auch zugleich einen etwas schwachen Ton, weil, wenn man jemanden [sic] etwas süßes oder angenehmes sagt, man mit sanftem und gezogenem Tone der Stimme spricht." Koch: *Musikalisches Lexikon*, col. 444.

21 Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1827, p. 57.

22 These occur in Opp. 1 No. 3/ii; 2 No. 1/iv; 4/iii; 46; 52 No. 6; 57/ii; and 106/i.

enhance a special effect, such as a particular tone colour.[23] This use of the pedal is also recommended in several contemporary treatises;[24] however, there is no persuasive evidence that, for Beethoven, *dolce* generally implies the use of pedal.[25]

Cantabile Lastly, then, what about *cantabile*? This indication is used least often among the ones discussed in this paper, and it only appears in 40 movements as an expression indicator.[26] In an additional 33 cases, however, it appears in a tempo indication.[27] Theorists generally suggest that *cantabile* simply means "play as if you are singing",[28] which Koch further defines as "with tones tied together and moderately strongly".[29] And it is indeed true that, on the whole, movements marked *cantabile* generally have a lot of slurs in them that tie notes together, as do individual sections with the same indication. Unsurprisingly, the term is mostly found in slow to moderate tempos and/or in the context of large note values in stepwise motion.

There are, nevertheless, some reasons to believe that *cantabile* could have additional meanings, as in several pieces that contain singers, an important part of the principal vocal line first occurs in an instrumental part in a passage marked *cantabile*. This includes the aforementioned Ninth Symphony but also the *Missa Solemnis*, the oratorio *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, and the *Choral Fantasy* Op. 80, as can be seen in Figure 7. Here, the term implies mimicking the performance style of the singer, who will sing this line soon. The precise meaning of this for pianists is hard to say with certainty, as the performance styles of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century have not yet received sufficient scholarly attention to be able to confidently describe the sound that is being referred to

23 See the Piano Sonata Op. 79, first movement; the Piano Trio Op. 97, third movement; the Folksong Variations Op. 107 No. 7, variations 3–4; and the Song Op. 108 No. 14.

24 See e. g. Johann Peter Milchmeyer: *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen*, Dresden 1797, pp. 57–66. For a discussion of the use of the pedal in piano treatises around this time, see Leonardo Miucci: Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style, in: *Early Music* 47/3 (2019), pp. 371–392.

25 This would be a fallacy known as affirming the consequent. See particularly Barry Cooper's paper on the matter in this volume, pp. 40–58.

26 *Cantabile* is found as an expression in Opp. 15/ii; 17/iii; 47/ii; 58/ii; 59 No. 1/iii; 60/ii; 61/ii; 70 No. 1/ii; 73/ii; 74/ii; 80 (piano fantasy); 81a/ii; 84 No. 5; 85 No. 1; 102 No. 1/i; 106/i & iv; 107 Nos. 4 & 9; 109/iii; 110/iii; 111/ii; 119 No. 11; 123/ii & iv; 125/i & iii; 126 No. 2; 127/ii; 130/iii; 131/iv; 132/iii.

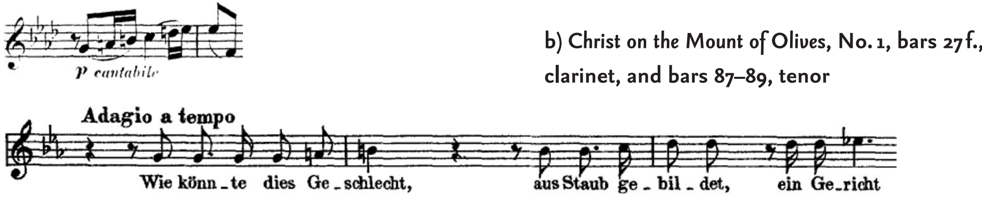
27 These tempo indications are found in Opp. 1 No. 1/ii; 1 No. 3/ii; 9 No. 1/ii; 13/ii; 16/ii; 18 No. 2/ii; 18 No. 5/iii; 20/ii; 21/ii; 30 No. 2/ii; 34 (theme); 38/ii; 50; 51 No. 2; 69/iii; 78/i; 85/xii; 87/ii; 97/iii; 98/vi; 104/ii; 109/iii; 110/i; 119 Nos. 4 & 8; 120 Var. 30; 123/iv; 125/iii (& iv); 126 Nos. 1, 3 & 6; 127/ii; 131/iv; 135/iii; and WoO 36 No. 1/iii; 47 No. 1/i; 74; 92; 98.

28 See for instance Rousseau: *Dictionnaire de Musique*, Vol. 1, pp. 114 f.: "[…] adjectif Italien, qui signifie *Chantable, commode à chanter.*"

29 Koch: *Musikalisches Lexikon*, cols. 299 f.: "[…] mit an einander geschleiften Tönen von mäßiger Stärke".

here, nor is it likely that there are sources that could substantiate any such claims.[30] But the wealth of later nineteenth-century recordings can provide some guidance, so perhaps *cantabile* can best mean a slight flexibility of tempo and a use of timbre and tone colour that sets the relevant material apart from its surroundings.[31]

a) *Missa Solemnis*: Benedictus, bars 117–122, violin solo and bars 134–138, bass



b) *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, No. 1, bars 27f., clarinet, and bars 87–89, tenor

c) *Choral Fantasy* Op. 80, fantasy, bar 17, and first entry of the tutti sopranos, bars 444–446

FIGURE 7 **Passages marked *Cantabile* as precursor to the vocal line**

30 Although many nineteenth-century authors have made a positive link between piano performance and singing (see for instance Hummel, Czerny, and Robert Schumann), it is neither clear to what extent Beethoven shared this opinion nor whether this consensus goes beyond favouring a sensitive treatment of the melody, particularly in rich textures in which the melody risks being overshadowed. One example out of many specifically dedicated to this purpose is Sigismund Thalberg: *L'art du chant appliqué au piano*, Paris 1853.

31 See e.g. David Greco: *Waking the Dead Diva. Recovering the Expressive Sound World of Forgotten Nineteenth-Century Singers*, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2020.

On reflection, a number of conclusions can be drawn from this overview of Beethoven's use of expressive indications. Their use is anything but arbitrary, and particularly in later works, these terms appear in highly specific contexts – often with second or subsidiary themes and important motifs – which, together with discussions from contemporary literature, can serve to illuminate their intended meanings. Accordingly, Beethoven's use of *espressivo* implies both dynamic and tempo flexibility, *dolce* implies a stable, quiet, and sweet tone, and *cantabile* is associated with singable lines, both in terms of composition and performance. All three, but particularly *espressivo* and *cantabile*, were used by Beethoven to mark structurally important material, and accordingly, understanding the ways in which these indications are used is valuable for both performers and analysts.

It may very well be, however, that Beethoven was less consistent with these indications than his notation may suggest, and there may be hidden intended meanings behind these expressive indications that have slipped through the net of the broad approach that this paper has taken. This, however, is both inevitable, as it is not possible to know that we have exhausted the interpretative possibilities even if we had, and not necessarily undesirable: unlike with the Rosetta Stone with which Andersch compared these indications, even a partial understanding of these indications can lead players to interpret Beethoven's music in new and worthwhile, historically informed ways that would otherwise not be made.

Yew Choong Cheong

A Historically Informed Perspective of Beethoven's Idiosyncratic Dynamics and Accents in His Piano Works

Introduction Beethoven was fortunate to witness the radical development of the piano throughout his creative life, acquainting himself with at least fourteen instruments available to him: eleven Viennese pianos, an Érard, a Broadwood and a Vogel.[1] For Beethoven, the immediate idea of sound is integral to his creative process, as he seems to have told Louis Schlösser in 1822 or 1823: "Stimulated by those moods that poets turn into words, I turn my ideas into tones, which resound, roar, and rage until at last they stand before me in the form of notes."[2] The first-hand accounts of Beethoven's piano playing among his contemporaries are mixed and sketchy. Particularly noteworthy are: (1) Carl Czerny, a pupil and friend of the composer, and (2) Anton Schindler, Beethoven's admirer and amanuensis.

Czerny describes Beethoven's playing as follows:

> "In the meantime Beethoven appeared and elicited from the fortepiano – through entirely new and daring runs, through the use of the pedals, through an extraordinarily characteristic manner of playing that was distinguished particularly by the strict legato of its chords, and which therefore brought about a new kind of singing – many effects never before imagined."[3]

Schindler describes Beethoven as a skilful orator whose playing "was the most distinct and intelligible declamation" owing to his use of the rhetorical pause (i. e., the lengthening of a written note in performance) and the caesura (i. e., a momentary break at the end of a phrase).[4] These accounts of Beethoven's playing could be associated

1 William S. Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven. Playing His Piano Music His Way*, New York ²1991, p. 53.

2 "[Meine Ideen] kommen ungerufen [...], angeregt durch Gemüthsstimmungen, die sich bei dem Dichter in Worte, bei mir in Töne umsetzen, klingen, brausen, stürmen, bis sie endlich beruhigt in Noten vor mir stehen." Louis Schlösser: Erinnerungen an Ludwig van Beethoven (Schluss), in: *Allgemeine deutsche Musikzeitung* 7 (1880), pp. 413–417, here p. 414. English: *Composers on Music. Eight Centuries of Writings*, ed. by Josiah Fisk, Boston 1997, p. 56.

3 "Inzwischen erschien (um 1790) Beethoven, und entlockte dem Fortepiano durch ganz neue kühne Passagen, durch den Gebrauch des Pedals, durch ein ausserordentlich charakteristisches Spiel, welches sich besonders im strengen Legato der Accorde auszeichnete, und daher eine neue Art von Gesang bildete, – viele bis dahin nicht geahneten Effekte." Carl Czerny: *Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, Wien 1839, Vol. 3, p. 72. English: James Parakilas: Playing Beethoven His Way. Czerny and the Canonization of Performance Practice, in: *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity. Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester 2008, pp. 108–124, here p. 113.

4 "[...] die deutlichste, fasslichste Declamation". Anton Schindler: *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, Münster 1840, p. 228. English: Anton Felix Schindler: *The Life of Beethoven*, trans. and ed. by Ignaz

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with, among other aspects, his unprecedented use of dynamics and accents in his piano works.

Consider the example of the Piano Sonata in C major Op. 53 (*Waldstein*). Charles Rosen considers this "Grand Sonata" as a remarkable feat, writing: "Never again in his career did the composer try to find so many tone colours and technical inventions for the pianist in one work."[5] Some writers, namely Tilman Skowroneck and Robert Taub, have also associated Beethoven's expanded conception of sound range with the gift of a piano that he received from Parisian builder Sébastien Érard in 1803. This excerpt from the third movement, a transition before the arrival of the climactic Prestissimo (Figure 1), illustrates how Beethoven exploited the potential of the piano to its fullest, producing a striking blending of sound effects within just twenty-five measures: new sonorities produced by the indication of long pedal (bars 378–395), the extreme high and low registers (i. e., g0 and a♭5 in bar 386), and the vast dynamic range from a soaring ***ff*** to a whispering ***ppp***.

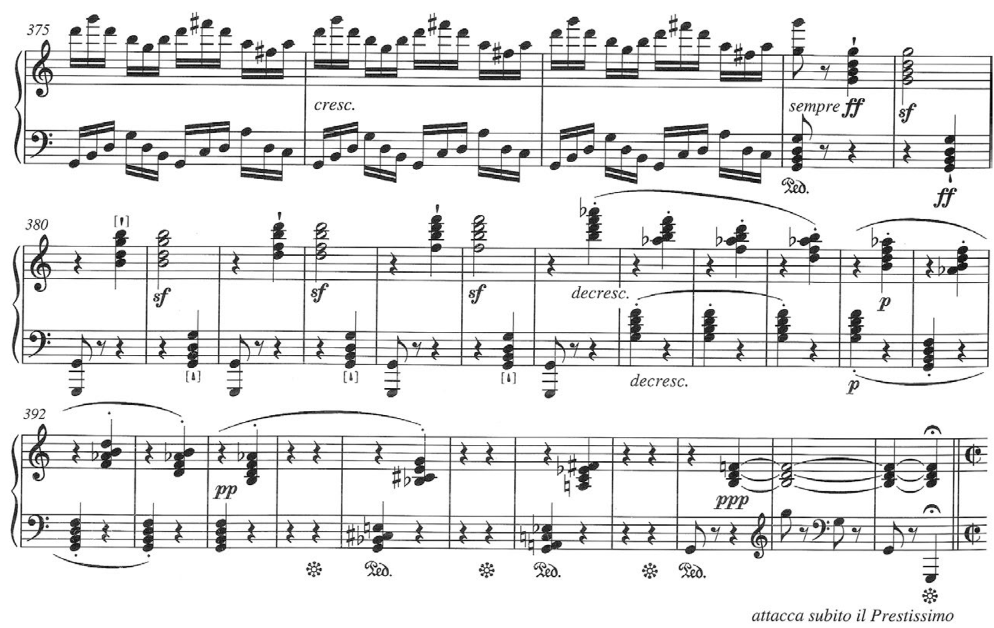


Figure 1 Beethoven: Piano Sonata in C major Op. 53/iii, bars 375–402 (All music examples © Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music ABRSM, ed. by Barry Cooper; except Figures 6, 10–12, 14–15, 16b, and 18b)

Moscheles, London 1841, Vol. 2, p. 129. See also Sandra P. Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, Bloomington 1988, p. 387.

5 Charles Rosen: *Beethoven's Piano Sonatas. A Short Companion*, New Haven 2002, p. 188.

A question any pianist will ask is how to interpret such a considerable amount of notated dynamics and accents in the three-movement *Waldstein* Sonata: 3 ***ppp***, 86 ***pp***, 62 ***p***, 39 ***f***, 39 ***ff***, 7 ***fp***, 115 ***sf***, 3 *ten.*, and 2 *rinforzando*. Of particular interest are Beethoven's paradoxical hairpins, which defy the conventional meaning of hairpins as indications of volume changes. The first example shows a *diminuendo* hairpin over a dotted quarter note, which is unattainable on the piano (Figure 2a). The second example shows the signs ***sf*** and hairpins notated in such close proximity that it is musically awkward to execute them as mere dynamic emphasis (Figure 2b).

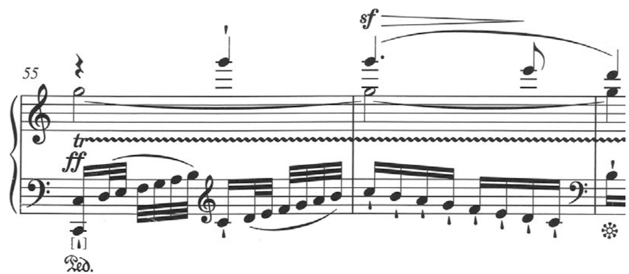


Figure 2a **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in C major Op. 53/III, bars 55–57**

Figure 2b **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in C major Op. 53/II, bars 6f.**

Scholarly research on historical performance practice and the recent publication of critical *Urtext* editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas reveal that his *crescendo/diminuendo* hairpins (< >) and *sforzando* (***sf***) are contextual expressive symbols which denote not only volume changes but also agogic inflections which call for flexibility of rhythm and tempo. This paper re-assesses a historically informed perspective of Beethoven's idiosyncratic dynamics and accents through the scrutiny of the commentaries on his performance style and musical intentions by his contemporaries such as Carl Czerny and Anton Schindler. Consideration of scholarly commentary by nineteenth- and twentieth-century musicologists and performers, including Louis Spohr, Hugo Riemann and Heinrich Schenker, may also help to illuminate the meaning of Beethoven's hairpins and accents. Thus, this paper explores interpretative possibilities of Beethoven's absolute dynamics, hairpins and *sforzando* by considering the musical context of selected piano works.

Absolute Dynamics Sandra Rosenblum's classification of absolute dynamic markings found in the scores of Beethoven's piano works include ***ppp***, ***pp***, ***p***, ***mp***, ***mf***, ***f*** and

ff.[6] Most historical treatises provided scanty information about the execution of dynamic markings. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* – one of the most important treatises on keyboard playing that exerted great influence on Beethoven – comments that the dynamic markings are descriptive notations which are incomplete, imprecise and require an understanding of the *Affekt* of the composition:

> "It is not possible to describe the contexts appropriate to the forte or piano because for every case covered by even the best rule there will be an exception. The particular effect of these shadings depends on the passage, its context, and the composer, who may introduce either a forte or a piano at a given place for equally convincing reasons."[7]

In his *Klavierschule*, Daniel Gottlob Türk stresses that the performer must decide upon the degree of loudness or softness in order to match the subtle variance between characters:

> "[C]ompositions of a spirited, happy, lively, sublime, magnificent, proud, daring, courageous, serious, fiery, wild, and furious character all require a certain degree of loudness. [...] Compositions of a gentle, innocent, naïve, pleading, tender, moving, sad, melancholy and the like, character all require a softer execution. [...] the livelier parts of a composition can be played louder and the tenderly singing, etc., parts can be played softer".[8]

Türk's sentiment is also echoed in Czerny's *Pianoforte-Schule*. Czerny explains that each of Beethoven's compositions "expresses some particular and well supported idea or object, to which, even in the smallest embellishment, he always remains true."[9] In the

6 Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, p. 58.

7 "Es ist nicht wohl möglich, die Fälle zu bestimmen, wo forte oder piano statt hat, weil auch die besten Regeln eben so viel Ausnahmen leiden als sie festsetzen; die besondere Würckung dieses Schatten und Lichts hängt von den Gedancken, von der Verbindung der Gedancken, und überhaupt von dem Componisten ab, welcher eben so wohl mit Ursache das Forte da anbringen kan, wo ein andermahl piano gewesen ist". Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen. Erster Theil*, Leipzig 1753, pp. 129 f. English: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. by William J. Mitchell, New York 1949, p. 163.

8 "[...] daß die Tonstücke von einem muntern, freudigen, lebhaften, erhabenen, prächtigen, stolzen, kühnen, muthigen, ernsthaften, feurigen, wilden, wüthenden &c. Charakter alle einen gewissen Grad der Stärke erfordern. [...] Die Tonstücke von einem sanften, unschuldigen, naiven, bittenden, zärtlichen, rührenden, traurigen, wehmüthigen &c. Charakter erfordern insgesammt einen schwächern Vortrag. [...] daß die lebhaftern Stellen eines Tonstückes stark, die zärtlichen singbaren &c. aber schwächer gespielt werden". Daniel Gottlob Türk: *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende*, Leipzig/Halle 1789, pp. 349 f. English: Daniel Gottlob Türk: *School of Clavier Playing*, trans. by Raymond H. Haggh, Lincoln 1982, pp. 338–340.

9 "Jedes seiner Tonstücke drückt irgend eine besond're, konsequent festgehaltene Stimmung oder Ansicht aus, der es auch selbst in den kleinsten Ausmahlungen treu bleibt." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-*

third volume of the *Pianoforte-Schule*, Czerny associates five dynamic levels – namely *pianissimo*, *piano*, *mezzo voce*, *forte*, *fortissimo* – with specific characters and moods.[10] Czerny's conception of dynamics as psychological connotation is not far removed from Schindler's description of Beethoven's playing style:

> "He [Beethoven] set great store by the manner of striking the keys, and its double import: the physical or material, and the psychological, of which Clementi made him aware. By its psychological import, Clementi meant the fullness of tone already conceived in the player's mind before the fingers strike the keys. One who is a stranger to this sense can never play an Adagio with feeling."[11]

Let's examine Czerny's comments about Beethoven's Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1. All four movements begin with the same dynamic indication of ***p*** (Figures 3a–d): the first movement is described as "fervent and impassioned, energetic and varied", the second movement as "soft and tranquil", the third movement as "[h]umorous and lively", and the last movement as "[i]mpetuously excited, almost dramatic, like the description of a serious event."[12] There is no doubt that performers need to vary their touch in order to project subtle nuances within the scope of ***p***, which Czerny defines as "the still soft and tender, though yet somewhat firm and expressive mode of touch with which the keys are to be struck."[13]

By the same token, the recurring theme from the second movement of the Piano Sonata in e minor Op. 90 should be played with varying degrees of softness, as Czerny explains: "As the theme is frequently repeated, the player must each time endea-

Schule op. 500, Vienna [1846], p. 33. English: Carl Czerny: *The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Pianoforte Works. Being a Supplement to the Royal Pianoforte School Op.* 500, trans. by John Bishop, London [1846], p. 31.

10 Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 4 f. English: Carl Czerny: *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School* [...] *Op.* 500, trans. by James Alexander Hamilton, London 1839, Vol. 3, p. 5.

11 "Großes hielt er auf den Anschlag und dessen Doppelbedeutung: der *physische* oder materielle und der *psychische*, darauf Clementi die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt. Unter letzterem verstand dieser die im Gefühle berechnete Tonfülle, bevor noch der Finger die Taste berührt. Wem dieses fremd ist, wird niemals ein Adagio seelenvoll vortragen." Anton Schindler: *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, dritte, neu bearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage, Münster 1860, Vol. 2, p. 237. English: Anton Felix Schindler: *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, ed. by Donald W. MacArdle, Chapel Hill 1966, Reprint New York 1996, p. 417.

12 "[...] ernst und leidenschaftlich aufgeregt, kräftig und entschieden"; "sanfte, gefühl- und melodie-volle [Adagio]"; "Humoristisch und lebhaft"; "Stürmisch aufgeregt, beinahe dramatisch, wie die Schilderung irgend eines ernsten Ereignisses." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, pp. 34–36. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, pp. 32–34.

13 "[...] die zwar weiche und zarte, aber doch schon etwas bestim̅t're und ausdrucksvollere Behandlungsart, mit welcher bei diesem Grade die Tasten anzuschlagen sind." Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 4. English: Czerny: *Piano Forte School*, Vol. 3, p. 5.

Figure 3a Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/I, bars 1 f.

Figure 3b Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/II, bars 1 f.

Figure 3c Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/III, bars 1 f.

Figure 3d Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/IV, bars 1 f.

Figure 4a Beethoven: Piano Sonata in e minor Op. 90/II, bars 1 f.

Figure 4b Beethoven: Piano Sonata in e minor Op. 90/II, bars 93–95

vour to deliver it with a different gradation of tone, but always with delicacy."[14] (Figures 4a/b)

Hairpins Alfred Brendel, in his 1976 essay "*Werktreue* – An Afterthought", claims that "Beethoven's notation is more modern than that of his contemporaries" in that certain notational symbols taken from string techniques (bowings) and vocal effects (accents,

14 "Da das Thema oft wiederkehrt, muss der Spieler streben, es jedesmal durch einen anders nüancirten, aber immer delikaten Vortrag herauszuheben." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 64. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 62.

dynamics) require a translation into their pianistic equivalent.[15] This is particularly true for Beethoven's hairpins. Extensive research by Clive Brown and Sandra Rosenblum tells us that the origins of hairpins can be traced back to: (1) the singing style of the early seventeenth century known as *messa di voce*, calling for swelling and diminishing in volume on a single note, and (2) the gradual increase or decrease in volume through varying bow strokes on the violin.[16] This is particularly true in the early piano sonatas of Beethoven, in which the 'accent' hairpins (>) and 'diamond-shaped' hairpins are notated over a single note or a group of three or four notes, as illustrated in Figure 5:

FIGURE 5 Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/1, bars 15–17

Another plausible viewpoint for Beethoven's unprecedented use of hairpins is associated with the freedom of his playing, especially his uncanny ability to execute dynamic nuances simultaneously with tempo flexibility. Schindler emphasised that Beethoven's playing "was free of all constraint in respect to the beat, for the spirit of his music required freedom."[17] Beethoven's student Ferdinand Ries describes:

> "In general, Beethoven played his compositions very whimsically, nevertheless, he usually kept a steady beat and only occasionally pushed the tempo, and even then, seldom. Among other things he held back the tempo in his *crescendo* with a *ritardando*, which made a very beautiful and highly striking effect."[18]

In Chapter III, "On occasional changes in the Time or degree of Movement", of Volume 3 of his *Pianoforte-Schule*, Czerny emphasises the importance of *rallentando* and *accelerando* – holding back and pushing forward in the degree of movement – as means of

15 Alfred Brendel: *Werktreue* – An Afterthought, in: id.: *On Music. Collected Essays*, Chicago 2001, pp. 30–41, here p. 34.

16 Clive Brown: *Classical & Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford/New York ^{2}2002, pp. 106–117, 126 f.; Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, pp. 58–60, 68–71.

17 "[…] es war frei alles Zwanges im Zeitmaße, wie es eben der Geist der Composition erfordert hatte." Schindler: *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (^{3}1860), Vol. 2, p. 230. English: Schindler: *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, p. 412.

18 "Im Allgemeinen spielte er selbst seine Compositionen sehr launig, blieb jedoch meistens fest im Tacte, und trieb nur zuweilen, jedoch selten, das Tempo etwas. Mitunter hielt er in seinem crescendo mit ritardando das Tempo zurück, welches einen sehr schönen und höchst auffallenden Effekt machte." Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, p. 106; English: Kenneth Drake: *The Sonatas of Beethoven as He Played and Taught Them*, Cincinnati 1972, p. 54.

expressive playing. He enumerates a list of situations where *ritardando* can be applied. Particularly noteworthy is the use of *ritardando* with a gradual change of volume, which Czerny recommends: (1) “At the Diminuendo of a preceding very lively passage; as also in brilliant passages, when there suddenly occurs a trait of melody to be played piano and with much delicacy”, (2) “Occasionally also, in the chief *crescendo* of a strongly marked sentence, leading to an important passage or to the close”, and (3) “At the end of every long shake which forms a pause or Cadenza, and which is marked diminuendo.”[19] However, Czerny does not provide any performance terms indicating tempo flexibility in the musical instances from the aforementioned chapter of his *Pianoforte-Schule*. A close examination of musical instances from Czerny’s *Pianoforte-Schule* reveals that the hairpins are always notated concurrently with Czerny’s recommendation for retardation and quickening in tempo, as illustrated in the following example, including Czerny’s remarks below (Figure 6). Of particular interest is that the *crescendo* hairpins in bars 2 and 4 call for two different interpretations – *ritardando* and *accelerando*, respectively, conveying the unwritten element of tempo flexibility.

> “The three last quavers of the 2d bar must be *retarded* a very little; indeed almost imperceptibly so, as the next or 3d bar is a repetition of the […] principal subject, though on other degrees of the scale. […]

Figure 6 Czerny: *Piano Forte School*, Volume 3, p. 34

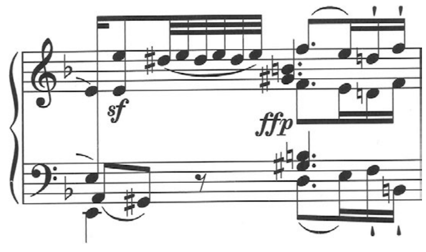
19 “Beim *Diminuendo* einer früher sehr lebhaften Stelle, so wie bei brillanten Passagen, wenn plötzlich ein *piano* und *delicat* vorzutragender Lauf eintritt. […] Bisweilen auch in dem starken *crescendo* einer besonders markirten Stelle, die zu einem bedeutenden Satze oder zum Schluss führt. […] Das Ende eines jeden langen Trillers, welcher eine Haltung und *Cadenz* bildet, und *diminuendo* ist, wie auch jede sanfte *Cadenz* überhaupt.” Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 26. English: Czerny: *Piano Forte School*, Vol. 3, pp. 33 f.

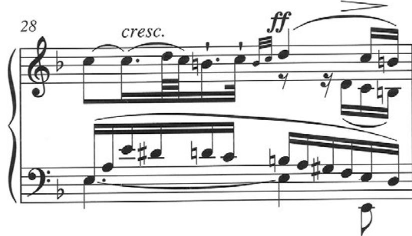
> The three last quavers in the 4th bar must be executed with somewhat more fire, (and therefore almost *accelerando*), which is again relinquished in the last three quavers of the 5th bar.”[20]

Czerny makes a similar observation about the first movement of Beethoven’s Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1 (Figure 7): “From the 4th bar of this movement a slight *ritardando* and *crescendo* commences, which is increased to the pause.” However, there is no performance term in the score suggesting a *ritardando* except the *diminuendo* hairpin.

For the second movement of Beethoven’s Sonata in D major Op. 10 No. 3, Czerny seems to suggest *accelerando* for the passages marked with ***ffp***, ***sf***, ***ff*** and the *diminuendo* hairpin without further details (Figure 8a–8c), as he comments:

FIGURE 7 Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/I, bars 5–8





FIGURES 8A–C Beethoven: Piano Sonata in D major Op. 10 No. 3/II, bar 23, 27, and 28

20 “Die letzten 3 Achteln des 2ten Takts sind ein klein wenig, kaum merkbar, zu *ritardieren*, da der nachfolgende 3te Takt wieder eine Wiederholung des ersten Takts, (also des Hauptgedankens) wiewohl auf einer andern Stufe, ist. [...] Die letzten 3 Achteln des 4ten Takts werden mit etwas mehr Wärme, (folglich *beinahe accelerando*) vorgetragen, welche erst in den 3 letzten Achteln des 5ten Takts wieder abnimmt.” Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, pp. 27. English: Czerny: *Piano Forte School*, Vol. 3, pp. 35.

> "In this *Largo* the effect must be also increased by a well directed *ritardando* and *accelerando*. Thus, for example, the second half of the 23rd bar, should be played a little quicker, as well as the second half of the 27th, and the whole of the 28th bar."[21]

Some of the most distinguished scholar-performers – Alfred Brendel, Clive Brown, Kenneth Drake, William Newman, and Sandra Rosenblum – share the view that Schindler's commentaries on proper performance style for Beethoven's piano works are, to a certain extent, convincing and relevant to Beethoven's musical intentions, despite his reputation for his proven forgeries in Beethoven's conversation books.[22] For the case of the Largo movement from the Sonata Op. 10 No. 3, Schindler even acknowledged Czerny's aforementioned comments as "particularly to be commended", and he further elaborated:

> "Beethoven himself said that the pace of this rich movement must be changed fully ten times, though only so as to be perceptible to the most sensitive ear. The principal theme is always to be repeated in the tempo of its first statement; all the rest is subject to variation in the tempo, each phrase according to its own meaning."[23]

Barry Cooper and Jonathan Del Mar, the editors of Beethoven piano sonatas for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and Bärenreiter-Verlag, respectively, tell us that Beethoven's hairpin notation is a constant problem in his thirty-two piano sonatas in that the exact peaks of the *crescendo* hairpins are often placed ambiguously and erratically, as illustrated in the two examples from the second movement of Op. 10 No. 3 (Figures 9a/b).[24] Del Mar's commendable efforts to illuminate Beethoven's idiosyncratic hairpins deserve mention here: his hairpins are not intended as "an obstructive bumping of any one note" but rather a "subtle and expressive swelling" which may affect the

21 "Vom 4ten Takte dieses Satzes fangt ein kleines *Ritardando* und *crescendo* an, welches bis zur Haltung zunimmt." – "In diesem *Largo* muss auch ein wohlberechnetes *ritardando* und *accelerando* die Wirkung vergrössern. So z. B. ist die zweite Hälfte des 23sten Takts etwas schneller zu spielen. Eben so die zweite Hälfte des 27sten und der ganze 28ste Takt." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, pp. 35 and 44. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, pp. 33 and 42.

22 See Brendel: Musical Characters in Beethoven's Piano Sonatas, in: id: On Music, pp. 66–78, here pp. 67 and 72; Brown: *Classical & Romantic Performing Practice*, pp. 386 f.; Drake: *The Sonatas of Beethoven*, pp. 22–24; Newman: *Beethoven on Beethoven*, pp. 22–24; and Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, pp. 98 f.

23 "[…] macht Czerny ganz besonders zu empfehlende Anmerkungen. […] Nach Beethoven ist ein nahezu zehnmaliger Wechsel mit der Bewegung zur Darstellung dieses inhaltreichen Satzes erforderlich, meist nur dem feinen Ohr merkbar. Das Haupt-Motiv behält seine erste Bewegung bei der Wiederkehr, alle andern unterliegen der Veränderung und sind unter einander so vermittelt, wie es von deren Sinn geboten wird." Schindler: *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (31860), Vol. 2, p. 232. English: Schindler: *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, p. 421.

24 See *Beethoven. The 35 Piano Sonatas*, ed. by Barry Cooper, Norfolk 2007, Vol. 1, p. 45.

Figures 9a&b **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in D major Op. 10 No. 3/ii, bars 4–6, and 84–86**

expression and even timing.[25] Del Mar's observation about the hairpins is certainly corroborated by the remarks of Czerny and Schindler mentioned above.

The notion of hairpins as 'notated' rubato could possibly be applied to Beethoven's idiosyncratic hairpins. In fact, such a notion is associated with the performance practice of the nineteenth century; possibly the earliest evidence of it is found in written instructions by Fanny Hensel Mendelssohn for her unpublished piano piece in f minor (1826): "This piece must be performed with many changes in tempo, but always gently, without jerking. The signs < > stand for *accelerando* and *ritardando*."[26]

In his influential *Violinschule* (1832), Louis Spohr introduced the term "rubato" and suggested lingering on a single note or a few notes as illustrated in Figure 10a/b.

> "[T]he second half of the 28th and 30th bar [Figure 10a] is to be so played, that the first notes obtain a little longer duration than their value warrants, and the loss of time may be regained by a quicker playing of the following note. (This manner of delivery is termed *rubato*.) This increasing of time must be gradual, and harmonize with the decreasing of power."
>
> "On the F♯ [...] retard a little and regain [the loss of time] on the five following notes [through acceleration]."[27] (Figure 10b)

25 *Beethoven. Complete Sonatas for Pianoforte. Critical Commentary*, ed. by Jonathan Del Mar, Kassel 2019, pp. 47 and 74.

26 R. Larry Todd: *Fanny Hensel. The Other Mendelssohn*, New York 2010, p. 102.

27 "Die zweite Hälfte des 28sten und 30sten Taktes trage man so vor, dass den ersten Noten etwas längere Dauer, als ihr Werth verlangt, gegeben, und der Zeitverlust durch schnelleres Abspielen der folgenden wieder beygebracht wird. (Diese Vortragsweise nennt man *tempo rubato*.) Dieses Schnellerwerden muss aber allmählig geschehen und mit dem Abnehmen der Stärke harmoniren." – "Bey dem fis [...] verweile

Figures 10a&b **Pierre Rode: Violin Concerto No. 7 in a minor Op. 9/1, bars 28–30, and Op. 9/111, bar 41, in: Spohr: *Grand Violin School*, p. 183 and 195**

There are no expressive markings in the musical illustrations that accompany Spohr's written instructions about rubato except the hairpins, which implies a connection between the hairpins and expressive lingering.

Hugo Riemann, one of the most significant German musicologists of the nineteenth century, coined the term 'agogic' to refer to a slight modification in rhythm and tempo. Riemann codified hairpins as agogic inflections: "The < > is to be understood more as agogic: < increasing shortening of the values, > decreasing stress."[28] In other words, the *crescendo* hairpin implies an intensification through a motion of pressing forward and urging whereas the *diminuendo* hairpin implies a decline through a motion of holding back and lingering.

There is substantial evidence that hairpins should not be solely interpreted as dynamic changes but as indications of tempo flexibility as well. In correspondence with Clara Schumann in May 1893, Brahms discussed the Intermezzo in b minor Op. 119 No. 1 and suggested it "'to be played very slowly' […]. Every bar and every note must sound like a ritard., as though melancholy would be drawn in from each, with sensual pleasure from these dissonances!"[29] It is evident that these hairpins are not only intended as dynamic changes but also as agogic lingering (Figure 11).

man etwas und spiele dann die folgenden fünf Noten um so schneller." Louis Spohr: *Violinschule*, Vienna [1832], pp. 199 and 211. English: Louis Spohr: *Grand Violin School*, trans. by C. Rudolphus, London [1833], pp. 183 and 195.

28 "[D]as < > ist mehr agogisch als dynamisch zu verstehen: < zunehmende Verkürzung der Werthe, > abnehmende Dehnung". Hugo Riemann: Zur Klärung der Phrasierungsfrage. Fortsetzung, in: *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 25 (1894), pp. 285 f., here p. 286. English: Clive Brown/Neal Peres Da Costa/Kate Bennett Wadsworth: *Performing Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music*, Kassel 2015, p. 6. See also David Hyun-Su Kim: The Brahmsian Hairpin, in: *19th-Century Music* 36 (2012), pp. 46–57, here p. 46.

29 "[…] 'sehr langsam spielen' ist nicht genug gesagt. Jeder Takt und jede Note muß wie ritard. klingen,

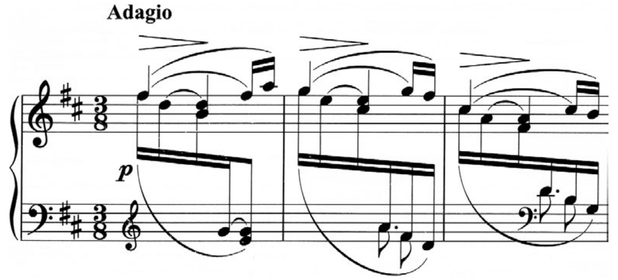


Figure 11 Brahms: Intermezzo in b minor Op. 119 No. 1, bars 1–3 (Bärenreiter)

Of particular interest are Heinrich Schenker's remarks on music performance in his 1911 unfinished draft of *Die Kunst des Vortrags* (*The Art of Performance*), drawing on a considerable number of examples from Beethoven's compositions and having much in common with Czerny's pedagogical guidance in his *Pianoforte-Schule*. It is worth mentioning that Schenker's groundbreaking edition of the complete Beethoven piano sonatas (Universal Edition, 1921–1923) is reputed to be the first publication faithful to the original sources: the autograph manuscripts and first editions. In the chapter "Dynamics", Schenker categorises the hairpins as rhetorical accents that signify "tension and relaxation" in volume, colour and timing, similar to manners of speech. Schenker defines the hairpins < > as a lingering and a subtle, expressive emphasis on such tones as the first note of a motive, neighbour tone, accented passing note and suspension,[30] as illustrated in Figure 12:

> "It is noteworthy, however, that < > in Beethoven always means a momentary halting, not an actual < > in a dynamic sense.
> Certain laws are generally valid. In principle the following are to be emphasized:"

1. the head-tone of a motive >
2. a neighboring note

< >

3. an accented passing note

>

4. a suspension

>

Figure 12 The definition and role of hairpins, in: Schenker: *The Art of Performance*, p. 47

als ob man Melancholie aus jeder einzelnen saugen wolle, mit Wollust und Behagen aus besagten Dissonanzen!" Clara Schumann/Johannes Brahms: *Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896*, ed. by Berthold Litzmann, Leipzig 1927, Vol. 2, p. 512 f. English: Imogen Fellinger: Preface, in: *Johannes Brahms. Klavierstücke Op. 119*, ed. by Imogen Fellinger, Wien 1974, p. III.

30 Heinrich Schenker: *The Art of Performance*, ed. by Heribert Esser and trans. by Irene Schreier Scott, New York 2000, p. 47.

Consider the following musical example from the first movement of Beethoven's Sonata in E♭ major Op. 81a, *Les Adieux*: Czerny's recommendation of *ritardando* for the last three measures of the Adagio introduction is unnotated in the score.[31] However, based on Schenker's explanation, the hairpins can be interpreted as slight hesitation and delay of the downbeat, conforming to Czerny's recommendation (Figure 13). Schenker's suggestion that non-chord tones can be expressively emphasised through lingering without exaggerating dynamic changes is illustrated in Beethoven's Bagatelle in G major Op. 126 No. 1 (Figure 14).

Figure 13 Beethoven: Piano Sonata *Les Adieux* in E♭ major Op. 81a/1, bars 14–16

Figure 14 Beethoven: Bagatelle in G major Op. 126 No. 1, bars 21–25 (Wiener Urtext, ed. Alfred Brendel)

In view of the evidence of historical precedents espousing the connotation of hairpins as 'notated' rubato, some scholar-performers such as Eric Heidsieck, Seymour Bernstein, Roberto Poli, David Kim and the author have provided interpretative possibilities for hairpins mostly for the nineteenth-century piano works by Chopin and Brahms.[32] For the case of Beethoven's hairpins, a brief discussion of interpretative possibilities is illustrated in the selected examples from Beethoven's piano works below.

1) *Crescendo* hairpin Beethoven most commonly uses the term *cresc.* for purely dynamic intentions. However, there are some instances where Beethoven notates *cresc.* and a *crescendo* hairpin together in close proximity: a 'redundant' notation which could signify beyond a mere gradual increase in volume. Thus, the 'redundant' notation of *cresc.* and a

31 Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 63; Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 61.

32 See Eric Heidsieck: Dynamics or Motion? An Interpretation of Some Musical Signs in Romantic Piano Music, in: *Piano Quarterly* 35/140 (1987), pp. 56–58; Seymour Bernstein: *Chopin. Interpreting His Notational Symbols*, Milwaukee 2005; Roberto Poli: *The Secret Life of Musical Notation. Defying Interpretive Traditions*, Milwaukee 2010; Kim: The Brahmsian Hairpin, and Yew Choong Cheong: Decoding Idiosyncratic Hairpins. Dynamic Changes or "Notated" Rubato?, in: *Mahidol Music Journal* 2 (2019), pp. 4–20, https://so04.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/mmj/article/view/189241/132573 (last consulted 15 September 2022).

crescendo hairpin could suggest a slight acceleration, generating a forward motion (Figure 15).

FIGURE 15 Beethoven: Diabelli Variations Op. 120, Theme, bars 20–24 (Wiener Urtext, ed. Erwin Ratz)

2) *Diminuendo* hairpin There are a few interpretative possibilities for the *diminuendo* hairpin: a slight delay of the note, a lingering on the note, or a retardation, usually in slow and lyrical passages, as illustrated in Figures 16a–c:

FIGURE 16A Beethoven: Piano Sonata in E♭ major *Les Adieux* Op. 81a/II, bar 5

FIGURE 16B Beethoven: Fantasia in g minor Op. 77, bars 158–160 (Wiener Urtext, ed. Alfred Brendel)

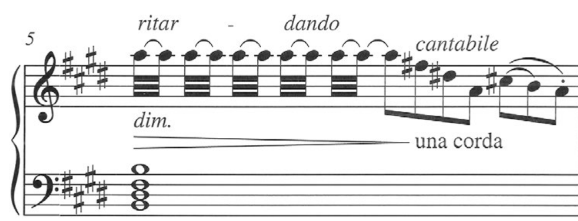


FIGURE 16C Beethoven: Piano Sonata in A♭ major Op. 110/III, bar 5

3) <> hairpin A pair of *crescendo* and *diminuendo* hairpins (or 'diamond-shaped' hairpin) generally suggests *rubato* playing with varying degrees of *accelerando* and *ritardando* depending on the musical context of the passage. In Figure 17a the hairpins

Figure 17a Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 2 No. 1/I, bars 27–30

Figure 17b Beethoven: Piano Sonata in f minor Op. 57/II, bars 9–10

may suggest a slight *acceleration* without excessive accents that may disrupt the melodic flow. In Figure 17b, on the other hand, the hairpin seems to imply a slight stretching of time over the chords.

Sforzando Scholarly literature on the subject of accentuation is extensive; especially the studies by Brown and Rosenblum provide detailed codification of accents based on their roles in the context of the music. Based on Rosenblum's detailed classification, the accent marks commonly found in Beethoven's piano works – ***fp***, ***sf***, ***sfp*** and *rinf.* (or *rinforzando*) – are considered as 'qualitative' accents which call for varying degrees of emphasis in volume (i. e., dynamics) and varying degrees of note values (i. e., rhythms) according to the context of the music. The concept of 'qualitative' accents is possibly related to declamatory style in which each syllable or word is given a different emphasis. C. P. E. Bach stated in his *Essay* that it would be a mistake for an orator "to place an impressive accent on every word, [as] everything would be alike and consequently unclear". Furthermore, Bach suggested lengthening certain notes and rests as a means of evoking declamatory style.[33]

Since the ***sf*** is the most common accent mark in Beethoven's piano music, various musical significations of ***sf*** are illustrated below.

33 "Widrigenfals würde ich denselben Fehler begehen, in den ein Redner fällt, welcher auf jedes Wort einen nachdrücklichen Accent legen wollte; alles würde einerley und folglich undeutlich werden." Bach: *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen. Erster Theil*, pp. 59, 129. English: Bach: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, pp. 81, 160–162.

1) Metrical accents and contrametrical accents The fundamental role of *sf* is twofold: used as a metrical accent, it emphasises the strong beats according to the organisation of pulse in a measure; used as a contrametrical accent, it emphasises syncopations and hemiola effects that contradict the metrical organisation. In Figure 18a, the *sf* first creates metrical accents on all four beats in the quadruple metre, followed by syncopated accents on the weak beats, serving in climactic projection and rhythmic drive. In Figure 18b, the *sf* accents create a hemiola effect against the triple metre.

Figure 18a Beethoven: Piano Sonata in c minor Op. 111/i, bars 145–147

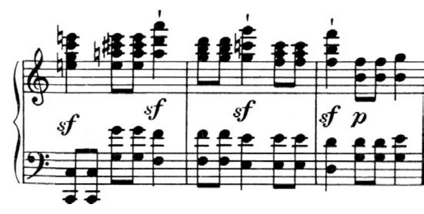


Figure 18b Beethoven: Diabelli Variations, Variation v, bars 29–31 (Wiener Urtext, ed. Erwin Ratz)

2) Agogic accents The agogic, or expressive, accent involves lingering on a note for a variable length of time (Figures 19a/b).

Figure 19a Beethoven: Piano Sonata in E major Op. 109/iii, bar 14

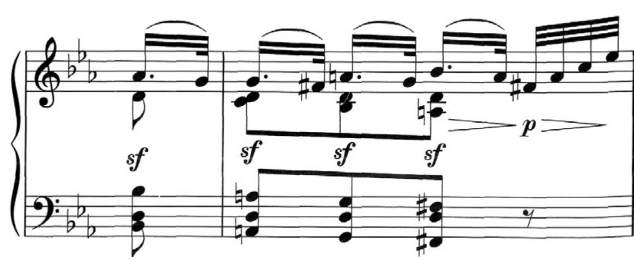


Figure 19b Beethoven: Piano Sonata in E♭ major *Les Adieux* Op. 81a/ii, bars 11 f.

3) 'Foreshortening' accents The term 'foreshortening' is borrowed from Alfred Brendel, who defines it as a compositional process that divides melodic and harmonic phrases into progressively smaller units, creating a gradual increase in tension.[34] 'Foreshortening' accents are usually formed when two or more ***sf*** are notated one after another. 'Foreshortening' accents almost always involve acceleration, especially in lively movements. There is concrete evidence of 'foreshortening' accents in the last movement of Beethoven's Sonata in C major Op. 2 No. 3, where Czerny instructs: "the notes marked ***sf*** must follow each other quickly and forcibly."[35] (Figures 20a–c)

Figure 20a **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in C major Op. 2 No. 3/iv, bars 119–122**

Figure 20b **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in B♭ major Op. 22/i, bars 38f.**

Figure 20c **Beethoven: Piano Sonata in D major Op. 28/i, bars 219f.**

34 Brendel: Form and Psychology in Beethoven's Piano Sonatas, in: id.: On Music, pp. 42–54, here pp. 46f.

35 "[…] müssen die ***sf*** rasch und kräftig nach einander folgen." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 39. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 37.

Conclusion Based on the collective evidence of the historical sources and selected musical examples discussed above, it is evident that Beethoven's idiosyncratic dynamics and accents are descriptive notation that can never be realised precisely but rather encompasses a wider range of expressive possibilities. Czerny claimed,

> "his [Beethoven's] performance depended on his constantly varying frame of mind, and even if it were possible exactly to describe his style of playing, it would not always serve us as a model, (in regard to the present otherwise cultivated purity and clearness in difficulties); and even the mental conception acquires a different value through the altered taste of the time, and must occasionally be expressed by other means, than were then demanded."[36]

Indeed, a historically informed interpretation of Beethoven's notational idiosyncrasies – through tireless questioning and exploration of the historical sources and keyboard instruments of Beethoven's lifetime – constitutes a voyage of discovery which reveals a constant re-invention of sound and timbral effects.

36 "Indessen hing er dabei von seinen stets wechselnden Launen ab, und wenn es auch möglich wäre, seine Spielweise ganz genau wiederzugeben, so könnte sie, (in Bezug auf die jetzt ganz anders ausgebildete Reinheit und Deutlichkeit bei Schwierigkeiten) uns nicht immer als Muster dienen; und selbst die geistige Auffassung erhält durch den veränderten Zeitgeschmack eine and're Geltung, und muss bisweilen durch and're Mittel ausgedrückt werden, als damals erforderlich waren." Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 34. English: Czerny: *The Art of Playing*, p. 32.

Leonardo Miucci

Beethoven's Piano Quartets WoO 36. Conservatism and Evolution[1]

The birth of the piano quartet as a chamber music formation is usually considered to be in 1785, when the Viennese publisher Hoffmeister commissioned Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to compose three quartets for piano, violin, viola and cello.[2] Although only one of the three works was completed and published, the commission bestowed upon history the masterpiece in g minor K. 478. Apart from a few contemporary quartets by Felice Giardini, Georg Simon Löhlein and Georg Joseph Vogler,[3] the year 1785 marks an important moment in the history of this chamber music formation for another reason: the young Beethoven wrote his Piano Quartets WoO 36. Even if quite distinct from K. 478, these quartets are profoundly indebted to other Mozartian models and, as has become apparent from newly uncovered sources, are in fact of key importance to Beethoven's work.

Musical life in Bonn and the legend of Mozart Beethoven, not yet fifteen, was in the midst of his musical development when he composed these quartets. He immediately made the decision not to publish them; in fact, they were released by Artaria only after Beethoven's death in November 1828.[4] For no apparent reason, the original sequence of the quartets in the manuscript (No. 1, C major; No. 2, E♭ major; and No. 3, D major) was changed by the publisher: first No. 2 in E♭ major, second No. 1 in C major and third, as in the original, No. 3 in D major. A plausible explanation behind this choice (which will be fully illustrated at the end of the following paragraph) could realistically concern the context of Beethoven's formative years and, above all, the legend of Mozart.

1 Translation of the original Italian version of this recently published paper: Leonardo Miucci: I Quartetti WoO 36 di L. van Beethoven – tra conservazione ed evoluzione, in: *Codice 602* 10 (2020), pp. 17–37.

2 The date on the autograph reads 16 October 1785; the Quartet was included in the second of three volumes dedicated to the *Klavier*; its publication was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* No. 63 (6 August 1785), and it was published in December of the same year (see Alexander Weinmann: *Die Wiener Verlagswerke von Franz Anton Hoffmeister*, Vienna 1964, p. 27). The Quartet K. 478 was to be the first part of a commission of three works; however, this project was abandoned after the publication of K. 478, which was considered too complex by the contemporary Viennese public.

3 For a complete description of the historical context, see the critical introduction of Ludwig van Beethoven: *Drei Quartette für Klavier, Violine, Viola und Violoncello* WoO 36, ed. by Leonardo Miucci, Kassel 2020, p. III.

4 On Artaria, Beethoven's legacy and the related posthumous editions see Douglas Johnson: The Artaria Collection of Beethoven Manuscripts. A New Source, in: *Beethoven Studies* 1 (1973), pp. 174–236.

DOI: 10.26045/kp64-6180-008

Unfortunately, the exact circumstances of the composition of WoO 36 remain unclear. What is certain is that they belong to young Beethoven's formative years in Bonn, when he began lessons at the keyboard with Christian Gottlob Neefe and on the violin with Franz Anton Ries. That Beethoven chose to write a set of three compositions in a genre that was not yet common suggests that these quartets were not conceived simply as an exercise in composition or style, though one of his tutors likely provided some supervision. Their origins should rather be sought in the musical life in Bonn at that time and, in particular, the contribution of the family of the imperial official Gottfried Mastiaux.

Although Mastiaux remains relatively unknown to musicologists, he deserves particular attention given his intense relationship with Beethoven. An active contributor to the musical life of the city, Mastiaux organised one of the most prestigious academy seasons, which attracted the most accomplished musicians passing through Bonn and where Beethoven also often performed. Moreover, his daughter Amalie – like Beethoven, born in 1770 – took piano lessons from the young composer with a certain regularity.[5] The Mastiaux household offered Beethoven the ideal setting to demonstrate his precocious talent in composing for piano quartet: Amalie's three brothers played the violin, viola and cello.[6]

Both Mastiaux and the Archbishop-Elector Maximilian Franz (patron to Beethoven and successor to Maximilian, dedicatee of the *Kurfürstensonaten* WoO 47) were passionate supporters of the cult of Haydn and Mozart, and, in line with Neefe's and Ries's teaching approach, they played a key role in exposing Beethoven to the repertoire of these great composers. With this objective in mind, the Archbishop-Elector financed Beethoven's trip to Vienna in 1787 in the hope that he could study with Mozart – a hope that seems not to have been realised.[7] The atmosphere breathed in these circles, in which Beethoven took his first steps, is excellently summed up in the well-known article published in 1783 in *Magazin der Musik*, where Neefe predicts a rosy future for the young composer "who will surely become a second Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart if he continues to progress as he has done so far".[8] Almost ten years later, Beethoven's first formative period concluded

5 Paul Kaufmann: *Aus den Tagen des Kölner Kurstaats. Nachträge zur Kaufmann-von Pelzerschen Familiengeschichte*, Bonn 1904, p. 49. For musical life in Bonn and the role of the Mastiaux family, see *Beethoven. Die Bonner Jahre*, ed. by Norbert Schloßmacher, Köln 2020.

6 Paul Kaufmann: *Aus rheinischen Jugendtagen*, Berlin 1919, p. 23.

7 Dieter Haberl: Beethovens erste Reise nach Wien. Die Datierung seiner Schülerreise zu W. A. Mozart, in: *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 14 (2006), pp. 215–255.

8 "Er würde gewiß ein zweyter Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart werden, wenn er so fortschritte, wie er angefangen." [Christian Gottlob Neefe]: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 377–396, here p. 395. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

with his definitive departure for the Austrian capital in 1792. On this occasion, Beethoven's friend and patron Count Ferdinand von Waldstein – prominent and influential in the musical scenes both in Bonn and later in Vienna – expresses the same sentiment:

> "Dear Beethoven!
> You are now going to Vienna in fulfillment of your long-frustrated wishes. Mozart's genius still mourns and is weeping over the death of its pupil. In the inexhaustible Haydn, it has found refuge but no occupation; through him it wishes to form a union with another. Through uninterrupted diligence you shall receive *Mozart's spirit from Haydn's hands.*"[9]

Neefe's article clearly articulated important expectations for the young Beethoven, mapping out the beginning of a compositional development which would inevitably be influenced – at least as far as style is concerned – by the focal centre of the German keyboard tradition at that time: Mozart.

In fact, as amply noted in musicological studies,[10] in his first fifteen years Beethoven composed works – of what are very often authentic masterpieces – clearly based on the Mozartian example. These include, among others, the Piano Concerto WoO 4 (1784), the Piano Sonatas WoO 47 (1783), the Trio WoO 37 (1786); and among the works of the first Viennese period: the Variations WoO 40 (1793), WoO 28 (1795), WoO 46 (1801) and the Quintet for Piano and Winds Op. 16 (1796/97).

Apart from the structural, motivic and stylistic approach, which were clearly borrowed from Mozart's violin sonatas, what is striking about the WoO 36 piano quartets is the unusual instrumentation. As already mentioned, in 1785 Beethoven could not have been aware of Mozart's Quartet K. 478, nor was there an important earlier tradition for this chamber music formation. There are further details suggesting that the quartets were composed for the occasion of a private performance, perhaps with his peers from the Mastiaux family. Firstly, the autograph is unusually clear and intelligible. Rarely can such clear and well-defined handwriting be found in Beethoven's autograph scores, even those from his youth, but in this case, it is even possible to discern a graphic distinction between

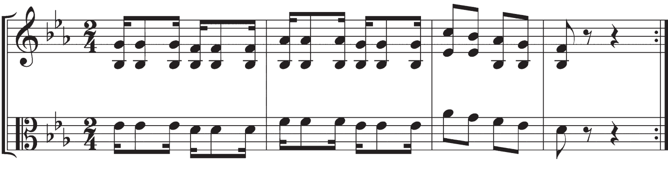
9 "Lieber Beethoven! Sie reisen itzt nach Wien zur Erfüllung ihrer so lange bestrittenen Wünsche. Mozart's Genius trauert noch und beweinet den Tod seines Zöglinges. Bey dem unerschöpflichen Hayden fand er Zuflucht, aber keine Beschäftigung; durch ihn wünscht er noch einmal mit jemandem vereinigt zu werden. Durch ununterbrochenen Fleiß erhalten Sie: *Mozart's Geist aus Haydens Händen*". Album leaf by Count Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein, 29 October 1792 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, B 130/b). English: *Letters to Beethoven & Other Correspondence*, Vol. 1, ed. by Theodore Albrecht, Nebraska 1996, p. 22.

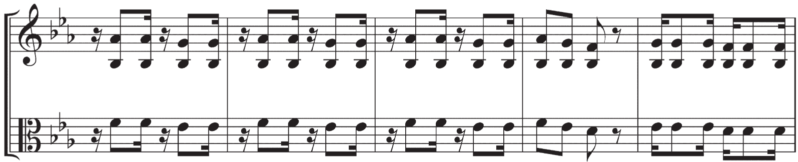
10 Among the numerous contributions on this subject, a recent bibliography is to be found cited in the paragraph "This passage has been stolen from Mozart" (2. Music for the Bonn Years), in Lewis Lockwood: *Beethoven. The Music and the Life*, New York 2003, pp. 55–61.

the staccato marks notated by dots or strokes, an almost unique example in the composer's hand.[11]

Secondly, the manuscript contains an unusually large number of pasted slips: in all, there are as many as fifty-four. These alterations to the manuscript can be divided into three categories: a) to correct evident mistakes or imperfections, b) to make the musical handwriting clearer, and lastly, c) to improve the composition itself. While the first two cases are fairly common in Beethoven's compositional process, the frequent occurrence of the third type is rare in his output and could plausibly be a reaction to the results of a performance or some other kind of feedback on the original version (most likely auditory).

This is clearly exemplified in Variation VI of the Quartet WoO 36 No. 2 (Figures 1 and 2). The original accompaniment in thirds in the violin and viola parts was radically different, written in a syncopated rhythm that failed to enhance the flow of the metrical accentuation as compared to the later version written on the pasted slip.





FIGURES 1&2 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 2, *Cantabile*, Var. VI, bars 1–4 and 9–13, violin and viola

There is additional evidence that this manuscript could have been thoroughly revised, perhaps following a rehearsal or concert or under the guidance of one of Beethoven's teachers. The *incipit* (first theme) in the opening Allegro of the third quartet is a representative example: in his creative process, Beethoven seems to have entirely re-elaborated

11 The autograph, held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, is available at the following URL: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN746161255 (last consulted 22 June 2021). For this specific reference, see the last paragraph of this contribution.

ideas that he had already previously clearly defined, even the most characteristic and structural of his motivic lines. The identity of the first theme is, in fact, different from the final version and passes through two principal stages (see Figure 3 for the first version of the opening).

Figure 3 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 3, fol. 61r(b) – *Allegro moderato*, bars 1–13

Despite the use of the same dotted figuration, from a rhetorical point of view, the thematic structure of the first version differs conspicuously from the final version. The latter is, in fact, well-balanced in the first four bars, following a typical scheme of the Classical period: an arrangement of musical material in the proportions 1 + 1 + 2, where the first element (bar 1) is repeated (bar 2) and subsequently developed towards an expanded concept with

a different musical pronunciation (bars 3/4). In the first version (Figure 3), this proportional rhetorical structure, both in the initial utterance of the piano (bars 1–4) and in the repetition by the strings (bars 6–9), is absent in favour of a two-part division of the musical phrase (bars 1/2, 3/4). Thus, the most expressive point occurs not between the third and fourth bars but is brought forward to the end of second measure (emphasised by the composer's slur), and so the flow of the musical discourse is less effective.

The initial version (Figure 3) is present both in the exposition at folio 61r(b) – under a page-long pasted slip – and in the recapitulation at folio 67r (Figure 4), which Beethoven also later changed to the new configuration of the first theme, again using a pasted slip. This seems to indicate that the WoO 36 manuscript was a fair copy of the three quartets

FIGURE 4 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 3, fol. 67v(b) – *Allegro moderato*, bars 94–109

that, nevertheless, was thoroughly revised by the young composer, perhaps at the last minute.

A possible revision following a performance or a second opinion – presumably from one of his tutors – is also suggested by the few markings on the manuscript that are not in Beethoven's hand but are, nevertheless, aimed at amending some of the most important features of the composition, such as the dynamic profile of the *incipit* of the first theme of the C major Quartet (WoO 36 No. 1). Beethoven frequently used this rhythmic/rhetorical configuration in those years: pedalling over a rigorously rhythmical cadencing of the left-hand chords and a right-hand line presenting an initial short, non-accented impulse followed by a longer note on the weak beat to be played with particular emphasis. Examples can be found both in WoO 36 No.1 (Figure 5) and in the Piano Sonata WoO 47 No. 1 of the same period, composed in 1783 (Figure 6).

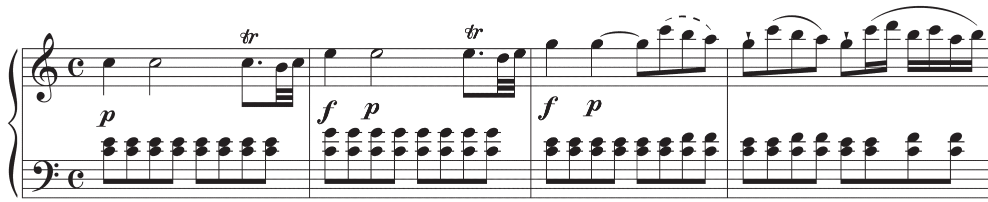


Figure 5 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 1, *Allegro vivace*, bars 1–4

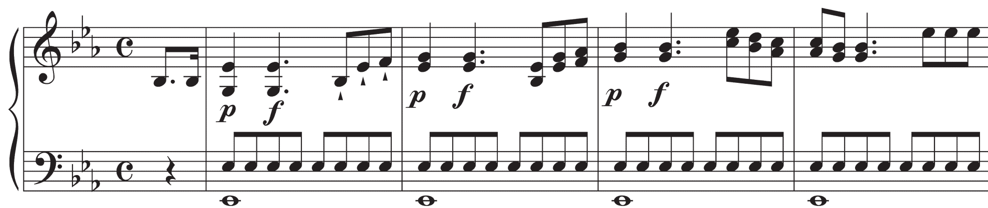


Figure 6 Beethoven: Piano Sonata WoO 47 No. 1, *Allegro cantabile*, bars 1–4

Figure 6 shows dynamic marks that underline the general sense of the metric scheme discussed above, that is, the accentuation of long notes on the weak beat. Conversely, Figure 5 shows a dynamic pattern that highlights the accentuation of the first beat of the bar, a sort of exception to the general rule in this type of configuration, which Beethoven will later reconsider. Traces of this re-elaboration are to be found in the manuscript.

Although the dynamic marks ***f*** and ***p*** in bars 2/3 in the piano part at folio 1v are not identifiable as being in the composer's hand (even if written in the same ink), the ***p*** placed on the first beat in the first measure does seem to correspond to Beethoven's own writing. It has not been possible to establish whether or not this particular stylistic choice was

Beethoven's own.[12] The identity of the author of these few marks that are not in Beethoven's hand has not yet been established, although it has been determined that this second script belongs neither to Neefe nor Ries. Hence, it cannot be established with certainty whether the reference to the Mozart violin sonatas was a didactic pretext of one of his tutors, an input received on a particular occasion from his musical life in Bonn or a deliberate initiative of the young composer himself.

The Sonatas for Violin and Piano K. 296, 379, 380 Taking into consideration this preliminary context, it comes as no surprise that the three quartets show a close affinity with the guiding pianistic style of the time: Mozart's style, and in particular that of the three Sonatas for Violin and Piano K. 296, 379 and 380 (1781). Although the similarities between the first quartet (in C major) and the Sonata K. 296, and between the third quartet (in D major) and the Sonata K. 380 are limited to some thematic ideas and specific keyboard figurations, the second quartet (in E♭ major) seems to be modelled in its entirety on the Sonata K. 379. In addition to evident thematic references and perfectly corresponding keyboard figurations, the Quartet WoO 36 No. 2 also shows important similarities on a structural level. Both works open with a slow Adagio introduction, followed by an Allegro in sonata form of agitated temperament in a minor key; in both works, the last movement comprises a theme and variations with the same structure coming to a close with a similar final coda (a theme in Allegretto). In addition to the macrostructure, the Quartet WoO 36 No. 2 and the Sonata K. 379 also share other significant similarities.

In the introductory Adagios, this becomes immediately apparent in the first few bars. Both these openings depict the same atmosphere and the same character through a similar series of chords and an identical melody, which unfolds in an expressive moment in the appoggiatura of bar 2, underlined with slurs by both composers (see Figures 7 and 8).

One of the many similarities is that both these introductory movements proceed directly into the ensuing Allegro without a resolution or break (the phrase suspended on a paused dominant). While the same spirit and metre are present in both second movements, a formal peculiarity suggests an unequivocal link between the two. Despite his youth, Beethoven had already proved his ability to shape the sonata form, showing glimpses of one of his stylistic hallmarks: the elaborate central development sections, as in the above-mentioned *Kurfürstensonaten* WoO 47 No. 1/I and No. 3/I. Conversely, the typology and dimensions of the development of WoO 36 is striking for its transitory character and its suspended effect achieved in only 25 bars out of a total of 196. In such case, it could be

12 The only repetition of this fragment in the entire movement (in bars 74–76) does not, unfortunately, throw light on any particular aesthetic ideal; it is simply marked ***f***.

Figure 7 Mozart: Sonata for Violin and Piano K. 379, *Adagio*, bars 1–3

Figure 8 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 2, *Adagio assai*, bars 1–3

affirmed that the development is almost completely absent, substituted by a short passage (transition) leading to the recapitulation. This procedure is also clearly borrowed from the Allegro of K. 379; notated with similar musical figuration and rhythmic patterns, it lasts a mere 12 bars (out of a total of 142).

Likewise, the last movement shows much affinity with K. 379, particularly regarding the structure itself and the pianistic and thematic figures used within this structure. This condition is not as evident in the theme (which, however, does present the same metre and a similar character) but – above all – in the variations. In the first variation, Beethoven borrows slavishly from Mozart's design; both unfold with figurations of broken chords, including chromatic appoggiaturas in the right hand (see Figures 9 and 10). In both cases, the violin part in the second variation adopts the same technique of diminution by exploiting the figuration in thirds. The Adagio variation – the third in Beethoven's composition and the fifth in Mozart's – is the only one to differ, not so much in its

figuration but in its character: in WoO 36, the dramatic tones are absent (even if in K. 379 they are only hinted at), and the dominant atmosphere is a serene, joyful cantabile. Beethoven's fourth variation returns to the original theme (with its original tempo, values and initial character) in order to further highlight the evident rhetorical contrast with the fifth variation – the only one in a minor key. This again is clearly modelled on the minor-key variation, the fourth, in K. 379. Beethoven, in this case, hardly attempts to hide the reference to Mozart's text: the piano texture, with its series of arpeggios, is identical – or, more precisely, even more virtuosic due to the augmented figuration (from triplets to sixty-fourth notes) – a melody built on broken chords in a dotted rhythm.

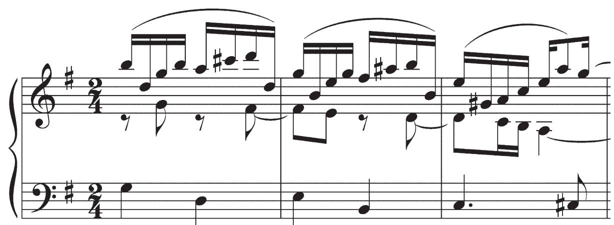


FIGURE 9 Mozart: Sonata for Violin and Piano K. 379, Var. 1, bars 1–3

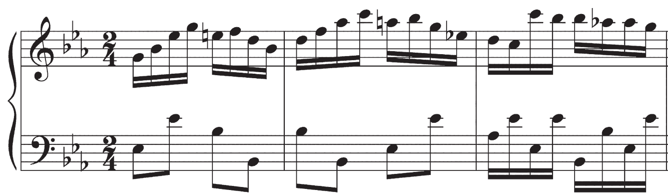


FIGURE 10 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 2, Var. 1, bars 1–3

An identical context emerges in the following variation, which is brilliant in character and returns to the major key; once again, Beethoven uses a pianistic figuration that is practically identical to the third variation in K. 379. Lastly, the closing in Allegretto returns to the original theme, at a faster tempo, concluding with a brilliant virtuoso coda, exactly as in Mozart's composition.

It is not known if the parallels between these two chamber music works – so particularly clear and openly declared in some passages – were a deliberate choice, the result of a stylistic exercise on the part of the young composer, or whether it could have been triggered by Beethoven's burgeoning creative process, which, as documented in other similar cases, tended towards excessive reverence for his models.[13] Both of these hypo-

13 See, for example, the case cited in note 10, referring to Beethoven's sketch (dating back to October 1790, when the composer was still living in Bonn): probably a new melodic nucleus in c minor and

theses would be consonant with a further element that should be taken into consideration: the context of the academies organised by Mastiaux and the Archbishop-Elector of Bonn, who would certainly have appreciated a chamber music performance by young musicians resounding in the palace rooms in the style most celebrated and loved by members of their circles.

That K. 296, 379 and 380 had been a model for the WoO 36 was immediately evident at the time of the composition of the quartets, especially to the young composer himself, which is likely the main reason that Beethoven decided not to publish these works during his apprentice years nor during his time in Vienna. Due to some citations that might have sounded too obvious to the ears of the Viennese public, Beethoven never even considered publishing these quartets; he would have risked being accused of lacking originality precisely when this was the most sought-after characteristic of a composer in Vienna at that time. On the other hand, it is significant that Beethoven, despite his numerous changes of abode and his famous inability to keep things in order, never lost the manuscript of WoO 36, jealously conserving it until his death. Thus, it would seem that the composer held these compositions of his youth in high regard. This appears to

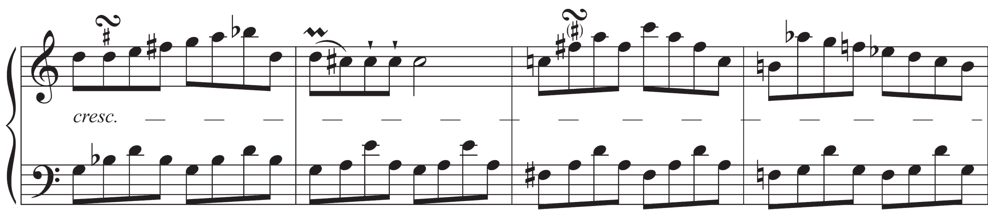


Figure 11 **Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 1, *Allegro vivace*, bars 37–40**

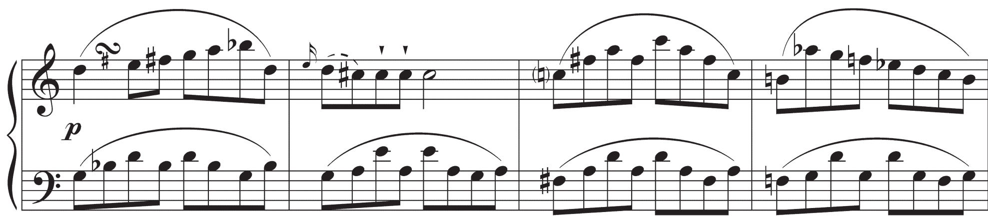


Figure 12 **Beethoven: Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, *Allegro con brio*, bars 27–30**

6/8, for a new symphonic incipit. In this same manuscript, Beethoven adds in his own hand, eliminating the fragment: "This entire fragment has been stolen from the Andante in 6/8 of the Symphony in c by Mozart" ("Diese ganze Stelle ist gestohlen aus der Mozartschen Sinfonie in c wo das Andante in 6 8tel aus den" [here the sentence breaks off]). See Joseph Kerman: *Ludwig van Beethoven Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799. British Museum Additional Manuscript 29801, ff. 39–162 (The "Kafka" Sketchbook)*, London 1970, Vol. 1, fol. 88v.

be confirmed by the numerous instances of Beethoven's 'self-borrowing' from these quartets for piano and other works that he composed from the 1790s onwards.

In some cases the composer totally copies the text of WoO 36; for instance, the Adagio of Op. 2 No. 1 (which will be discussed further in the following paragraph) is nothing other than the re-proposal of the Adagio con espressione from WoO 36 No. 1. In other piano sonatas composed in his youth, such as Op. 2 No. 3 or Op. 13, thematic motives are lifted in their entirety from WoO 36 (see Figures 11 and 12). This became immediately clear to Artaria when he bought the manuscript of the Quartets WoO 36 at auction. It is likely that, due to such an overt similarity, he decided to change the original order of the quartets. Realising that there were particularly marked similarities between WoO 36 No. 2 and K. 379, the publisher had a transcription made of the Quartets WoO 36 for the original duo formation that had inspired the young composer.[14] This transcription for violin and piano had been arranged by a certain Hildebrand[15] and was probably intended to be published in November 1828 together with the first publication of the Quartets WoO 36, which, in fact, no longer opened with the C major but with the E♭ major quartet. Artaria, although probably fully aware of the profits to be gained from divulging and underlining the similarities between Beethoven's and Mozart's work, ultimately decided not to publish the transcription.

Notational Styles and Performance Practices What is striking is that Beethoven takes the Mozartian example in its entirety: not only just its structure, motives and style in general, but also more specifically its notation. For instance, concerning damper pedal practices, like Mozart, who provided no pedal indications in any of his keyboard pieces, the young Beethoven did not notate pedalling in these early works, although in performance he certainly availed himself of the pedal as an expressive device in certain circumstances.[16] This is particularly important considering that notation is the aspect that evolved the most in piano literature between the 1700s and the 1800s. Beethoven was

14 "Clavier quartett v. Be[e]thoven / arangirt für Clavier u. Violin / von Hildebrand". Berlin Staatsbibliothek, coll.: Mus.ms.autogr.Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 218 (https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1029234280&PHYSID=PHYS_0005&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001).
This manuscript, consisting of 12 folios, is from the Artaria Archive.

15 Probably Johann Hildebrand, born in 1790 and director of the *Kärntnertortheater* in Vienna; the same Hildebrand is cited in the conversation books of 1823.

16 Concerning pedal practices, new sources have been just published in Leonardo Miucci: *Tra Apprendistato e Genialità. Le Sonate dalle* WoO 47 *all'op.* 13, Lucca 2022 (Le Sonate per pianoforte di Beethoven, Vol. 7.2), pp. 432–454. Here, the "double notational style" theory (Leonardo Miucci: Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style, in: *Early Music* 47/3 [2019], pp. 371–392) has been further clarified, including a response to the problematic reading of it proposed by Barry Cooper in this book.

living in the midst of this change, which was determined more by external than internal factors: the revolutions that had shaken the social fabric in those two centuries had also had heavy repercussions on the sphere of music. The features of this profound evolution, in this case with respect to notation, is lucidly documented by Carl Czerny, one of Beethoven's most famous pupils, in 1839:

> "In modern Compositions, the marks of expression are in general so fully indicated by their Authors, that the Player can seldom be in doubt as to the intention of the Composer.
> But cases do occur, in which much remains at the pleasure of the player; and in the older Piano forte pieces, as for example those of Clementi, Mozart & c, the indications of expression are very sparingly inserted, and the style of playing is left to, and depends chiefly on the taste and experience of the Performer; hence the effective execution of these works becomes much more difficult."[17]

In other words, Czerny is suggesting that the pianistic notation of the mid to late 1700s should not be read through the same lens as that of the early 1800s. In this sense, Beethoven's notation and the aesthetic content in the quartets looks to the past, to the models of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and, more particularly, of Mozart. To some extent, WoO36 represents a style that is destined not to return, characterised by graphic conventions and pianistic practices that are almost unique. These three are among the most significant: staccato, rubato and beaming with a metrical function.

In the last few decades, one of the most discussed and controversial aspects of Beethoven's handwriting undoubtedly regards the staccato, notated either with a dot or vertical stroke.[18] These discussions have created a dichotomy between those who put forward the theory that, for non-legato notes, there is an effective distinction between the two markings, and those who, on the contrary, maintain that the vertical stroke is the sole indication of staccato. The only common ground is that the question is very complex and that it is difficult – if not virtually impossible – to determine with absolute certainty Beethoven's intention through his handwriting due to the speed and lack of care with which he wrote these articulation marks in his manuscripts. Apart from the hypothetical distinction of aesthetic character and/or execution, this question has often led, even in

17 "In den neueren Compositionen werden die Zeichen des Vortrags von den Autoren meistens so ausführlich angewendet, dass der Spieler im Allgemeinen selten über den Willen des Compositeurs in Zweifel sein kann. Aber selbst da gibt es Fälle, wo vieles der Willkühr des Spielers überlassen bleibt, und in älteren Clavier-Werken, (z. B.: von Mozart, Clementi, etc.) wo jene Zeichen äusserst sparsam sich angezeigt finden, hängt der Vortrag meistens von dem Geschmack und der Einsicht des Vortragenden ab. Daher ist der Vortrag dieser Werke in dieser Rücksicht weit schwerer." Carl Czerny: *Vollständige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule. Op. 500*, Wien 1839, Vol. 3, p. 4. English: Carl Czerny: *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School* [...] *Op. 500*, trans. by James Alexander Hamilton, London 1839, Vol. 3, p. 5.

18 For a general bibliography on the subject, see Clive Brown: Dots and Strokes in Late 18th- and 19th-Century Music, in: *Early Music* 21 (1993), pp. 593–610.

the choice of modern editors, to a tendency toward total uniformity. Consequently, the staccato indicated with a dot has been used only for the *portamento* effect (that is, applied to notes under a slur); in all other cases, the stroke has been adopted as the staccato marking. Without entering into a discussion on this choice, (which, however, is clearly limiting), the autograph copy of WoO 36 lies outside this debate; its unusual clarity, resulting from the extreme care with which the young composer wrote this manuscript, represents a *unicum*. This means that, unlike in other manuscripts, a clear distinction can be presumed both from the point of view of the handwriting and its meaning. Once again, the inspirational source of Beethoven's choices is Mozart. It is likely that the young composer had access to the 1781 Artaria edition of the Sonatas K. 296, 379 and 380 and that he actually possessed a copy himself. This printed source uses both dots and strokes for non-legato notes.

Although Beethoven's handwriting is meticulous, the manuscript source of WoO 36 still presents some spots where clarity lacks. While the staccato dots are almost unequivocal, the staccato strokes show some differences in handwriting that do not always allow definite confirmation of the same identical vertical stroke (see, for example, WoO36 No. 1/I, bar 22). Looking beyond these minor issues, however, a clear distinction between these marks emerges forcefully from this manuscript and enables the formulation of different meanings in terms of performance practice.

In considering the difference between dots and strokes, the acoustic properties of the pianos that Beethoven had access to in Bonn – the Stein and similar models – should be taken into consideration.[19] These were instruments with a highly sensitive Viennese action mechanism with only five octaves and an organological structure that resulted in an extremely rapid decay of sound. Consequently, a distinction between these two staccato marks based on their sound duration – as suggested in the methods of the late 1700s and early 1800s – can be misleading. Nevertheless, a plausible classification could consider the attack or accentuation: where the staccato is written with dots, it could be interpreted as referring to the concept of *leggero*, while the strokes could refer to a more accentuated attack. As can be seen in several teaching manuals, among other sources, the practice of distinguishing between dots and strokes was not unknown in the notational practices of the eighteenth century. For example, Quantz indicates that:

> "When a stroke is positioned above a note that is followed by other notes of less importance, then that note must not only last half its value but must also be emphasised through the pressure of the bow.

19 On this subject, see Tilman Skowroneck: The Keyboard Instruments of the Young Beethoven, in: *Beethoven and his World*, ed. by Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg, Princeton/Oxford 2000, pp. 151–192.

> […] When dots are positioned above notes, these are to be played with a lighter bow stroke, but not staccato."[20]

It is superfluous to underline that these indications are of a general nature and that, as all methods suggest, the correct execution of the staccato should be contextualised in the character of the music (brilliant, cantabile, et cetera) in accordance with the dynamic marks, the nature of the movement itself together with various other factors. The different meaning of the two marks can be seen, for instance, in Figure 13: in the groups of four semiquavers (bars 12/13), the staccato with dots comes immediately after the slurred pair of notes, so the first of these slurred notes will require more accentuation while the staccato notes will require a much lighter touch. Conversely, the staccato notes in bars 14/15 not only need to be short but also to be played with an accentuated attack.

Finally, the last aspect that clearly shows to what extent the young Beethoven was influenced by the Mozartian model with respect to these articulation marks, is the simultaneous use of both of these markings within the same bar (Figure 14) – an exceedingly

FIGURE 13 **Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 1, Allegro *vivace*, bars 12–15**

FIGURE 14 **Beethoven: Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, Allegro con brio, bar 22**

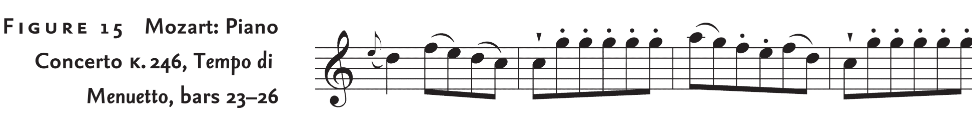


FIGURE 15 **Mozart: Piano Concerto K. 246, Tempo di Menuetto, bars 23–26**

20 "Steht aber nur über einer Note, auf welche etliche von geringerer Geltung folgen, ein Strichelchen: so bedeutet solches, nicht nur daß die Note halb so kurz seyn soll; sondern daß sie auch zugleich, mit dem Bogen, durch einen Druck markiret werden muß. […] Wenn über den Noten Puncte stehen; so müssen solche mit einem kurzen Bogen tockiret, oder gestoßen, aber nicht abgesetzet werden." Johann Joachim Quantz: *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin 1752, p. 201.

rare occurrence in the *usus scribendi* of the mature Beethoven. Again in this case, the notes marked with strokes seem to indicate an accentuated attack while the notes marked with a dot suggest a light touch. Through this notation, the composer creates an effective crescendo towards the second part of the bar concluding on the downbeat of the following measure. The same notation, borrowed once again from Mozart's pen, can be seen in Figure 15.

The second category of Beethoven's notation to be considered concerns one of the formulas used to mark the effect of rubato, the dislocation (anticipated or delayed) of the melodic line with respect to the accompaniment (which proceeds strictly in time). Among the various notational practices Beethoven used to indicate this type of effect is rubato expressed through inverted dynamic marks (***p f p f***). This type of marking is found in WoO 36 No. 2/I, bar 37, No. 1/II, bar 4 and partially in No. 1/II, bar 44.

This notation is interesting from many points of view. Firstly, as the heritage of a late galant style of writing,[21] it was destined to disappear from Beethoven's compositions in his Viennese period (his source of examples as a young composer had been Mozart, under the direct guidance of Neefe).[22] Secondly, he indicates dynamics that contrast the natural accentuation of the metre, a relationship between notation and performance practice found in the harpsichord and clavichord repertoires of this period; this is presumably why it was later abandoned in the pianistic traditions of the early 1800s. Nevertheless, that "the long notes in the bars, which should naturally be accented, become weak while the short notes become strong and fall with an accent"[23] was still understood. The question of the extent of this dislocation, both quantitively and qualitatively, is complex and evokes the words of Leopold Mozart, who, in his method on the subject of rubato, exhorted that it was "much easier to demonstrate than to describe",[24] confiding in the good taste of the performer. The task of the modern interpreter, however, is to identify at least the semantic extent of this dislocation: in other words, not to misinterpret the notation by reading it purely in dynamic terms but to place it within the correct aesthetic code (rhythmic freedom) of the keyboard practices of that time. Thus, Czerny's advice on how to read and identify the different traditions in style and notation becomes relevant.

21 The only other instance regards the Piano Concerto WoO 4/II, bar 19 (1784).

22 For some of the various references to Mozart, see the Piano Sonata K. 284/II, bar 29 and III, Var. 20, bars 7 and 24 (1775). Also see Neefe's *Klavier-Sonate* No. 7/II, bar 37 (1773).

23 "[…] die innerlich langen Noten des Taktes, die eigentlich den Accent bekommen, schwach, hingegen die innerlich kurzen Noten stark und mit Accente vorgetragen werden". From "Tempo Rubato" in Heinrich Christoph Koch: *Musikalisches Lexikon*, Frankfurt am Main 1802, cols. 1502 f.

24 "Was aber das gestohlene Tempo ist, kann mehr gezeiget als beschrieben werden." Leopold Mozart: *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, Augsburg 1756, p. 263, footnote.

Figure 16 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 1, Adagio *con espressione*, bars 4/5

Figure 17 Beethoven: Piano Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, *Adagio*, bars 4/5

The last aspect worthy of note regards Beethoven's re-proposal, as mentioned above, of the same fragment of WoO 36 No. 1/II, bar 4 (Figure 16) in the Sonata Op. 2 No. 1/II, bar 4 (Figure 17) in which the rubato marks disappear to be replaced by a legato marking encompassing the entire upbeat. Beethoven's choice, rather than presenting a different aesthetic vision, seems to pertain only to notation. This is an indication that the composer, aware that notation of this kind in the Vienna of 1796 would not have been understood by most but only by a scant minority of professionals, decided to leave the initiative to the pianist's 'good taste'.

Another aspect of performance practice concerns the correct metric accentuation, in particular when expressed through the grouping of notes. This notational tool, to be replaced by more descriptive and specific notation styles in the nineteenth century, played a vital role in the practices of the preceding century and enabled composers – above all in cases of exceptions to the general rules – to indicate particular metric structures.

The seventeenth-century German keyboard approach, strongly rooted in the aesthetic values of rhetoric and spoken language, was based on a complex, reciprocally interactive system of elements that determined the correct accentuation – like the pronunciation of words in a phrase –, enabling the interpreter to communicate to the listener the meaning of a page of music through the correct decryption of articulation and touch. It is, in fact, no coincidence that all keyboard methods (at least German methods) until the 1830s and '40s dedicated ample space to this subject, always referring to the metaphor of spoken language. The general rule assigned different meaning and importance to the beats of the bar, both in binary and ternary metre, an approach that has been rather neglected in our day. The conservative, and most prominent representative of the

Figures 18–20 Beethoven: Piano Quartet WoO 36 No. 2, Allegro con spirito, bars 1–5, 12–17, 116–120

Mozartian school, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, emphasised in his *Anweisung* as late as 1828 how, for example, in four/four time, there are two strong beats (1/3) and two weak beats (2/4) while, in three/four time, the first beat was accented and the other two were played more lightly (in particular the last beat).[25] It is essential to take these norms aimed at correct accentuation into consideration, in order to determine, among other things, the correct tempo and its fluctuations. Since the multitude of marks that were to be added in the following century (accents and specific kinds of articulation) were not yet available to keyboard composers of the second half of the 1700s, often these customary practices are communicated in a way that is not immediately apparent. The use of what the English call 'beaming' falls into this category. This is exemplified, for instance, in the obsessive precision with which the young Beethoven indicates changes of accentuation in metre through this notational tool in the Allegro con spirito WoO 36 No. 2. Figure 18 shows the *incipit* of the movement: the rhythmic motor is in the cello part and the left hand of the piano, where the precise metric layout indicates that the last beat – in theory the weakest in the bar – should here receive some accent.

It follows that the metric unit is no longer a single strong beat (the first beat) in the bar but a strong and a weak beat, forming a sort of trochaic foot (– ⌣); this rhythmic structure restricts the choice of tempo while limiting the risk of excessive acceleration.

Figure 19, on the other hand, shows a different rhetorical function, that is to say the leading of the musical phrase towards a *fortissimo* in bar 17. Through a different type of beaming, suggesting a single accent per bar (anticipated by the slur at the end of the bar in a sort of rubato), the composer seems to clearly communicate this intention. For further confirmation of this notational expedient, it is possible to compare the same fragment with the thematic *incipit* in Figure 18 as it appears in the recapitulation (see Figure 20).

Beethoven evidently intends the recapitulation to have a more flowing nature than in its first appearance. In bar 118, the climax of the first half-period is now marked *forte* rather than *fortissimo*, thus diminishing the drama and intensity of the dynamics, yet the single initial accent, both in the piano and cello parts, sounds more marked while at the same time enhances the directional flow towards the following bar.

In conclusion, the Quartets WoO 36 offer a valuable and detailed picture of a precise moment in Beethoven's development. The influence and links with the models and general poetics of Mozart's keyboard practices, together with those of C. P. E. Bach, are evident. The young composer's borrowings from Mozart (or at least the most important

25 Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1828, Vol. 1, pp. 60–63.

examples) involve all aspects of musical discourse: structure, treatment of themes, style, and aesthetics, together with performance practice and notation, to cite just a few. However, what was for Mozart a point of arrival was for Beethoven a point of departure. Although some of the notation solutions and musical choices had already been surpassed by Beethoven in the first Viennese period, indicating that by that time, a precise artistic direction had been embarked upon, signs of the precocious manifestation of such genius are already evident in WoO 36. Despite being just 14 years old, Beethoven already showed an extremely deep musicality with a concept of sound that prefigured future aesthetics, coupled with virtuoso tendencies that precociously heralded the nature of his mature pianism. A few years later, that very pianism would evolve into the antithesis – or at least what would be perceived as such – of Mozart's pianism. As Theodor W. Adorno said: "The human is indissolubly linked with imitation: a human being only becomes human at all by imitating other human beings."[26]

26 "Das Humane haftet an der Nachahmung: ein Mensch wird zum Menschen überhaupt erst, indem er andere imitiert." Theodor W. Adorno: *Minima moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben*, Frankfurt 1980, p. 174. English: id.: *Mimima Moralia. Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott, New York 2005, p. 154.

FROM SKETCH TO PRINT

Sandra P. Rosenblum

Publishers' Practices and Other Happenings in the Life of Beethoven's Quintet for Piano and Woodwinds Op. 16

This project began as a blind date. Sometime in the 1980s I acquired, sight unseen, an early nineteenth-century copy of the piano part of Beethoven's Quintet in E♭ major for Piano and Woodwinds Op. 16, bearing plate number 161. This Simrock edition lacked its title page and instrumental parts but contained many handwritten addenda. Notice of this conference[1] reminded me of that Beethoven curiosity which had had a long rest on a shelf in my study while I was completing other projects.

The handwritten additions, mostly in pencil, made no sense at first, and some remain inexplicable. They were primarily of three kinds: the sign of an "X", numerals, and small scribbled circles that you will see in Figure 2. Not at all what I had expected. However, across the top of Figure 1, in ink, is written in French "instead of rfz, simply [write] rf." This copy must have been prepared for another publisher, likely French.

At the bottom of that page, in the same ink, there is the plate number 249 followed by 250 crossed out, another partial clue. Both notes were probably written by the person in charge of the edition for the new publisher. A reference on the internet to an edition in the Beethoven-Haus with the plate number A. F. 249–50 completed the first part of the puzzle: the publisher was Aristide Farrenc, a French music publisher, writer on music, and flautist. This issue of his edition of Beethoven's Quintet was published between 1831 and 1836 and changed from *Querformat* to *Hochformat*.[2]

Because of the cavalier manner with which the indication ***rfz*** was swept aside, my next question was whether that had been Beethoven's initial indication. The original publisher of this Quintet was T. Mollo of Vienna. It appeared with plate number 151 in March 1801, along with the Piano Concerto Op. 15 and the Sonata for Piano and Horn Op. 17. The Quintet was probably sketched during Beethoven's visit to Berlin in May and June of 1796 and was first performed in Vienna with the composer at the key-

1 Conference "Beethoven and the Piano. Philology, Context and Performance Practice", Lugano/online, 4–7 November 2020, www.hkb-interpretation.ch/beethoven2020 (last accessed 22 September 2022).

2 I would like to thank the following persons who graciously answered my queries from their own resources during the lockdown of research libraries caused by Covid 19: Carol Padgham, Theodore Albrecht, and Glenn Stanley; Sarah Barton and Kerry Masteller, research librarians at Harvard's Loeb Music Library; Stephanie Kuban for providing music examples from the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn; and Leonardo Miucci for playing the fortepiano examples in Lugano. – Date based on the publisher's address in *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, ed. by Anik Devriès and François Lesure, Geneva 1979, Vol. 1, p. 169. Pl. nr. 249–250 would by itself indicate an initial publication date circa 1828.

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FIGURE 1 Opening Grave (Simrock), collection of the author

FIGURE 2 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 1–55 (Simrock)

board on 6 April 1797 as part of an *Akademie* given by his good friend Ignaz Schuppanzigh.[3]

None of the three works published simultaneously by Mollo carry the mark ***rfz***. In its place only ***sf*** appears, which is the accent indication most frequently used by Beethoven. He used it in every dynamic setting, and its strength would have been interpreted accordingly.

The Simrock edition, initially published in Bonn in 1802, was the first *Nachdruck* of Op. 16.[4] In it, Simrock had replaced all of Mollo's ***sf*** marks with ***rfz*** and had done the same in their editions of the Piano Sonatas Opp. 10 and 14.[5] Was it their editor's choice or a house policy during those years?[6] Unfortunately, the sketches that exist for Op. 16 contain not a single hint of any performance indication.[7] No autograph is extant and no *Kritischer Bericht* has yet been issued for Op. 16, although it was published in 1964 in the new complete edition.[8] However, Paul Mies wrote in 1957 that, when ***rfz*** appears, it is sometimes an engraver's substitution for ***sf***.[9] In the Classic period ***fz*** and ***rf*** were sometimes used as accent signs, but not typically by Beethoven.[10]

In fact, there were considerable differences in the perceived meanings of many terms among the composers of the Classic period. The interpretation of each depends in part on our knowledge of each composer's background and practice.

Returning to the penciled addenda, in the Grave we find six "X"s, each a few measures apart, and at the end of the page the number "12".

In Figure 2 the "X"s disappear, to be replaced by a series of numbers by twos: "2", "4", "6", et cetera. I followed the numbers along for several pages, comparing them with the

3 See *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, ed. by Kurt Dorfmüller, Norbert Gertsch and Julia Ronge, Munich 2014, Vol. 1, pp. 85 f.

4 According to Stephanie Kuban of the Beethoven-Haus, who has studied the history of the Simrock editions of Op. 16, my copy probably dates from circa 1817. See also *Beethoven. Werkverzeichnis*, Vol. 1, p. 88.

5 William Newman: And Yet Another New Edition of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas, in: *Piano Quarterly* 87 (1974), pp. 42–45, here p. 42.

6 On the evidence available, neither the Simrock *Nachdruck* nor Farrenc's edition based on it were authorised by Beethoven.

7 The sketches are contained in Ludwig van Beethoven: *Autograph Miscellany from Circa 1786 to 1799*, ed. by Joseph Kerman, London 1970, Vol. 2, pp. 39–42 (Vol. 1 contains the sketches in Beethoven's hand, Vol. 2 contains the transcriptions).

8 Ludwig van Beethoven: *Klavierquintett und Klavierquartette*, ed. by Siegfried Kross, Munich 1964 (Beethoven Werke, Abt. 4, Vol. 1).

9 See Paul Mies: *Textkritische Untersuchungen bei Beethoven*, Munich 1957, pp. 124–129.

10 See Sandra P. Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*, Bloomington 1988, pp. 83–90; also p. 442, footnote 50.

corresponding measures in the Farrenc edition and discovered that, with a few exceptions, they were meant to coincide with the ends of the braces in that edition. Numbering braces by twos allowed for each staff to be counted separately. In the Grave each "X" had indicated the end of a brace, and the "12" at the end of the page indicated that six braces had completed the page.

My assumption is that the layout plan was made in-house in Paris because the score was being changed from the original *Querformat* to *Hochformat*. Errors in gauging how many measures would fit in one brace were frequent, and many of the circular scribbles covered incorrectly placed digits. The digit "2" in the first brace of Figure 2 was initially placed at bar 11. It was then crossed out and placed at bar 10.

However, Farrenc's engraver only fit eight measures onto the brace, as you can see in Figure 3. He squeezed twelve measures onto the second brace, and finally, the digit "6" at bar 31 in Simrock coincided with the end of brace three in Farrenc, after having been scribbled over twice above the two barlines that follow. Many circular scribbles in the remainder of the Simrock score have not yet revealed their significance. The ***rf*** requested in the note at the top of Figure 1 appears prominently in Farrenc's edition.

Having come this far, I wondered what was accomplished by the dubious routine of trying to count and then correct the brace numbers. The only explanation I have for the numbering is to prepare an approximate plan that can be adjusted but that will assure that each movement fits comfortably within its pages in the new *Hochformat*. Thus they functioned as a general guide for the engraver.

What do the "X"s mean when they are not being used to mark off the braces, as they were in the Grave? In Figure 4 there is an "X" over the incorrectly placed "22" at measure 77, but there is also an "X" over the *correctly* placed "18" between measures 60/61. And what do the "X"s at bar 84 or between bars 104/105 signify? Having scrutinised the entire score, I have not found any connection between the "X"s and what is occurring in the wind or string instruments.

The pages of the Andante cantabile and the Rondo Finale become progressively freer of addenda, but something new awaits. The initial marking in the Rondo is a "2" written over an "X", as if the scribe had at first planned to revert to the use of "X" to indicate brace endings, as in the Grave. For the rest of the first two pages each "X" is a measure too early, is then crossed out and a numeral correctly placed. Surprisingly, at bar 85 the scribe once again returned to "X"s only, but, at bar 131 finally conceded (to an editor?) to using the redundant combination of numbers with accompanying "X"s to the end.

While there may not be enough evidence for a decisive determination, I suspect that more than one scribe was involved in preparing this *Stichvorlage*. The one who used "X"s to mark the braces in the Grave returned in the Rondo. Other scribes had more miscalculations, scribblings, and questionable "X"s.

FIGURE 3 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 1–31 (Farrenc) (courtesy of Beethoven-Haus, Bonn)

FIGURE 4 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 56–110 (Simrock)

Undamped sounds There are many consequential issues of performance practice in this Quintet, but here I will discuss only Beethoven's specific indications for undamped sound. His first published indications for raising and lowering the dampers, *senza sordino* and *con sordino*, appeared in 1801 in Opp. 15, 16, and 19. The indications are noteworthy for their scarcity and for their carefully planned uses: to mark structural events and create sonic affects. Yet it has been reliably reported, by Czerny among others, that Beethoven used undamped sound in the performance of his keyboard works "very frequently, far more often than one finds it indicated in his compositions."[11] For simplicity, from here on the term "pedalling" for the raising and lowering of the dampers will suffice, whether the mechanism is by knee lever or foot pedal. In this early period of his composing and performing, Beethoven would have had only knee levers on his five- octave Viennese-style instruments.

Interest in pedalled sound was not new at the turn of the century. From Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's iconic *Essay* of 1753,[12] which Beethoven knew well, through books by Samuel Petri in 1782,[13] Johann Peter Milchmeyer in 1797,[14] Francesco Pollini in 1812,[15] and countless others throughout the nineteenth century, there was growing interest in pedalling. The aggregate information regarding appropriate common usage during the Classic period can be summarised from contemporary tutors.[16] The damper pedal was most commonly used for collecting, enriching, and prolonging the sound of a group of consonant notes, preferably in a homophonic texture. It was used chiefly in slow movements with a leisurely harmonic rhythm and a simple melody, and changed with each new harmony. It could also sweeten the sound by amplification of overtones, embolden accentuation, and prolong bass notes where distance and texture made that desirable.[17]

11 "Beethoven benützte es [Pedal] beim Vortrag seiner Clavier-Werke sehr häufig, – weit öfter als man es in seinen Compositionen angezeigt findet." Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-Schule op. 500*, Vienna [1846], p. 4, par. 9. On Beethoven's pedalling practice see also the contribution by Barry Cooper in this volume, pp. 40–58.

12 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* [Vol. 1: 1753; Vol. 2: 1762], trans. and ed. by William Mitchell, New York 1949, Vol. 2, p. 431.

13 Samuel Petri: *Anleitung zur praktischen Musik*, [2nd ed.], Leipzig 1782, p. 371.

14 Johann Peter Milchmeyer: *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen*, Dresden 1797, pp. 57–66 (chapter 5).

15 Francesco Pollini: *Metodo pel Clavicembalo*, Milan 1812, trans. and ed. by Leonardo Miucci, Rome 2016, pp. 84–86.

16 Sandra P. Rosenblum: Pedaling the Piano. A Brief Survey from the Eighteenth Century to the Present, in: *Performance Practice Review* 6/2 (1993), pp. 158–178.

17 In his cleverly titled article, "Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style", Leonardo Miucci also writes about the common usage of the damper pedal as opposed to Beethoven's written notations, in: *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 377–392.

However, the pedal was *not* used to produce a legato touch; that was a function of the fingers.

Of course Beethoven would have desired to make a memorable impression in Vienna, coming in the wake of Mozart's great success, especially that of his Quintet for Piano and Winds K. 452, also in E♭ major. But Beethoven need not have worried! As early as 1791, Carl Junker, having just heard Beethoven play in Mergentheim, wrote: "His style of treating his instrument is so different [...] that it seems he has blazed his own trail to the height of excellence on which he now stands."[18] Thus Beethoven's Quintet must have excited considerable interest. In hindsight, his audience heard both his developing compositional style and the piano placed in a more dramatic light, with many sforzati (often on weak beats), unexpected subito pianos following crescendos, strong contrasts of register, and his use of pedalling. The following are comments on just four special pedallings of the eight that Beethoven specified in this Quintet.

Figure 5 is the first indication for pedalling in Op. 16. I can imagine some listeners thinking, "If this is the music of the future...". That 'fanfare', placed at the opening of the development section, was meant to shock! However, listening to the actual sound demonstrates that, when all the wind instruments play on the home tone of each scale, some of the dissonance created by the piano playing at full throttle is absorbed. This pedalling does not relate to any of the common-practice uses of pedalled sound; rather it highlights an important place in the structure of the movement and represents a new approach to what the piano can do.

Figure 6, a lovely pedalled cadenza-like passage that embraces almost the entire keyboard, leads to the coda. Here Beethoven's use of pedalled sound as a structural marker coincides with the common practice of enriching the sound of a group of consonant notes. But Beethoven's *con sordino* is placed in bar 336 – *after* the two rests. Keeping the dampers up allows the overtones to die away gradually, making a nuanced connection with the emerging clarinet solo (bar 335). This stands in contrast to the more forceful treatment after the preceding rising scale and chords in bars 326–334 that are pedalled, *fortissimo*, and staccato. Why did both the Henle edition and the new complete edition add a modern pedal release sign directly under the first rest in bar 335?

In Figure 7, preceding the conclusion of this movement, Beethoven entered a seven-measure pianissimo passage that starts with the augmentation of the opening notes of the secondary theme (see Figure 4, bar 66). The passage is suffused with the subdominant

18 "Sein Spiel unterscheidet sich auch so sehr von der gewöhnlichen Art das Klavier zu behandeln, daß es scheint, als habe er sich einen ganz eigenen Weg bahnen wollen, um zu dem Ziel der Vollendung zu kommen, an welchem er jezt steht." Carl Ludwig Junker: Noch etwas vom Kurköllnischen Orchester. Beschluß, in: *Musikalische Korrespondenz der teutschen Filharmonischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1791* (23 November 1791), No. 48, coll. 379–382, here coll. 380 f.

Figure 5 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 135–142, based on Mollo's first edition (Rosenblum: *Performance Practices*, p. 132)

Figure 6 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 333–337 (Simrock)

Figure 7 Allegro ma non troppo, bars 377–384, based on Mollo's first edition (Rosenblum: *Performance Practices*, p. 133)

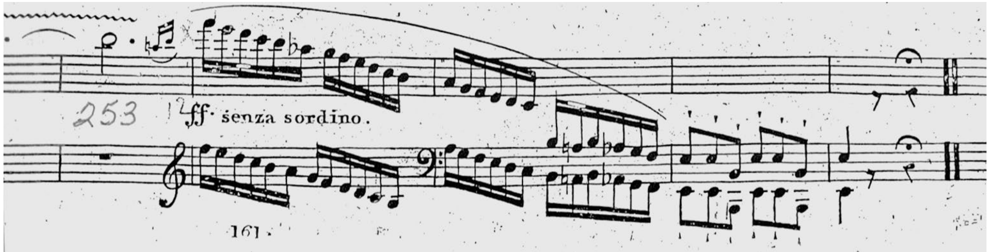

FIGURE 8 Rondo. Allegro ma non troppo, bars 253–257 (Simrock)

FIGURE 9 Grave, (OE Mollo) as adapted by owner AHL (collection of the Beethoven-Haus, Bonn)

key and is pedalled without a break. This wash of sound, created by mixed harmonies and scalar dissonance, once again contravenes the usual practice but in a subtle manner.[19]

In the Rondo Beethoven provided himself a brilliant conclusion for the Quintet. Figure 8 shows a well-planned reflection of the rising pedalled scales in the opening Allegro. This time, against a V_7 chord in the winds, both hands play the E♭ major

19 In the Allegro con brio and the Largo of the Concerto in C major Op. 15, there is a pedalled passage with mixed harmonies along with a few other indicated pedallings, all of which serve as structural markers.

scale *fortissimo*, an octave apart, right hand starting on the top f, with dampers raised to the end!

An unforeseen discovery The most unexpected happening in this adventure was the discovery of a copy of Mollo's Op. 16 with handwritten inserts. On its title page this copy displays the stamp of its former owner, AHL. A glance through the Grave reveals that braces 3 and 5 had been rewritten and pasted over the original (see Figure 9). The Beethoven-Haus has no information about the provenance of the score, but examination of it led me to speculate that AHL was a pianist of some skill who owned a six-octave instrument, probably equipped with pedals instead of knee levers.[20]

To demonstrate the attributes of his instrument, AHL often added notes – vertically or horizontally – to make the sound fuller; he extended the musical range upward by an octave to f7, filled out many long notes with figuration, indicated a considerable amount of additional pedalling and added ornaments and roulades, some very long. All were suited to make the piano part more virtuosic.

In brace 3 the right-hand line is broken into thirty-second-note triplets, replacing Beethoven's duplets, and *forte* is changed to *fortissimo*. Now observe the same measures in Figure 1 as Beethoven wrote them. In brace 5 of Figure 9, the arpeggio on the B♭ major chord is extended to the top of the new sixth octave. The indication "Sen:Sor" demonstrates one of the 'common practice' uses of pedalling that Beethoven didn't usually bother to indicate. The following left-hand chord is incorrectly notated – see the barely visible correction –, and a bass clef is missing at bar 21. Fingerings also appear in bars 16 and 19. This page alone marks AHL as an ambitious amateur!

At the opening of the Andante cantabile, with its lyrical stepwise melody, AHL designated "S[enza]. S[ordino]." There is no indicated change through the principal theme and a secondary theme to bar 36. Here a series of pedal changes responds to a transitional motive that leads to a variation of the main theme (bar 41). AHL must have intended the pianist to change or stop the pedal at his/her discretion between bars 1 and 36.[21] However, Beethoven's own *con sordino* at the return of the main theme countermands AHL's initial indication at the start.

Although *con sordino* is often lacking after *senza sordino*, there are places in AHL's score where "S. S." is systematically followed by "C. S." as the harmony changes (Figure 10). This confirms another aspect of the common practice of pedalling.

20 German and Viennese builders generally did not adopt pedals until early in the nineteenth century and usually only for instruments of six or more octaves.

21 This author is reminded of Robert Schumann's similar usage in his Op. 12 *Fantasiestücke*, not composed until 1837.

FIGURE 10 Andante cantabile, bars 97–99 (OE Mollo) adapted by AHL (collection of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn)

Beethoven's Quintet was unquestionably a popular work, played numerous times in private salons and in public by the composer and other pianists,[22] prepared for piano and string quartet by the composer himself,[23] and published in many editions. More importantly, it demonstrates Beethoven's "completely new manner", by which he himself described his developing style of composition in order to justify the price he was demanding of Breitkopf & Härtel for the Variations Opp. 34 and 35.[24]

In this Quintet we hear a young composer exploring his instrument and enlarging his compositional style by daring to burst boundaries. The pedallings that he chose to indicate are distinctly different from the generally acknowledged practices of the time. Those are illustrated by our ambitious amateur delighting in the pleasures of his six-foot instrument.

22 E. g. on 2 April 1798 Beethoven played Op. 16 at a concert for widows and orphans (*Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. by Elliot Forbes, Princeton 1967, Vol. 1, p. 204). On 2 May 1801 Josephine von Deym wrote to her sisters about an impromptu afternoon of music-making in which Beethoven's "new Quintet with piano and lots of other beautiful things" were played ("das neue Quintett auf das Clavier [Op. 16] und mehrere schöne Sachen" La Mara: *Beethoven und die Brunsviks. Nach Familienpapieren aus Therese Brunswicks Nachlaß*, Leipzig 1920, p. 17). In Dec. 1804 Beethoven also played the Quintet in a concert at Prince Lobkowitz's palace. From this occasion arose the oft-cited description of Beethoven's lengthy improvisation (probably just prior to the first return of the principal theme in the Rondo) that had the wind players with their instruments at the ready more than once, only to put them down again (Franz Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, pp. 79 f.).

23 Ibid., pp. 93 f.

24 "[...] wirklich gantz neue Manier". Letter of 18 October 1802, in: *The Letters of Beethoven*, trans. and ed. by Emily Anderson, London 1961, Vol. 1, pp. 76. Stanley discusses Beethoven's development during this period and points out that Opp. 34 and 35 were the first variation sets to which the composer gave opus numbers, see Glenn Stanley: The "wirklich gantz neue Manier" and the Path to It. Beethoven's Variations for Piano, 1783–1802, in: *Beethoven Forum* 3/1 (1994), pp. 53–80.

Susanne Cox

Beethoven's 'Concept'. Working Manuscripts Between Sketch and Fair Copy

Statements of Beethoven himself about his compositional methods are rare. Occasionally, however, they are included in his letters. In 1821, for instance, the composer wrote to Adolph Martin Schlesinger, the publisher of the Piano Sonata in E major Op. 109, that he had written down his 'concept' in a more detailed manner than usual.[1] Because of that it was possible for him to send the autograph score of the sonata to the publisher instead of a copy. Due to this statement we can suppose that Beethoven had written down the Sonata Op. 109 twice – once as a concept and once as a cleaner score which should be used for the engraving. In fact, a few pages of the first concept have survived.[2] The second autograph score is completely preserved.[3]

In another letter, a little later, Beethoven used the word "concept" again. This letter is dated 20 February 1822, and it is addressed to Schlesinger, too. Beethoven again referred to a piano sonata, this time to the Sonata in c minor Op. 111. The publisher had already received a copy of the sonata. Now Beethoven told Schlesinger that he would send him a new copy of the last movement. The previously sent copy should not be used for the edition. It did not contain the final form of the movement since Beethoven had given the copyist the wrong manuscript to copy. Beethoven wrote:

> "It happened that, with so many different matters to attend to, I gave my copyist just my first draft, whereby as often happens some things were indicated that were still imperfect and not right. You must therefore not make use of it at all and I also ask you not to show it to anyone, and destroy it at once as soon as you have received the other copy."[4]

1 Beethoven wrote to Schlesinger on 13 November 1821: "[W]as die andern 2 Sonaten [Op. 110 and Op. 111] anbetrift, so werden selbe bald folgen, u. zwar korrekt abgeschrieben, mit dem Manuscript mitschicken, dies ist zu gefährlich, denn wenn ein widriger Zufall Manuscript u. Abschrift träfe, so wäre das ganze werk verlohren, das vorigemal [Op. 109] geschah es, indem ich meiner kränklichen Umstände wegen mein *Concept weitlaüfiger* aufgeschrieben als gewöhnlich, jezt aber wo wie es scheint meine Gesundheit beßer ist, zeige ich wie sonst <nur>auch nur gewiße Ideen an u. bin ich mit dem ganzen fertig im Kopfe, so wird alles aber nur einmal aufgeschrieben –". Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 4, p. 455 (No. 1446).

2 Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Wien, A 47.

3 Library of Congress, Washington, ML 30.8b. B4 op. 109 1820 Case.

4 "[…] in so vielen zerstreuten Beschäftigungen geschah es, daß ich dem Copist mein bloßes erstes Koncept übergeben, wodurch wie es manchmal zu geschehen pflegt manches noch unvollkommen u nicht richtig angezeigt war, sie dörfen also gar keinen Gebrauch davon machen auch bitte ich sie es niemanden andern zu zeigen, so bald sie die andere Abschrift erhalten haben vernichten sie es so-

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Here Beethoven used the word "concept" for a manuscript in which some things were still imperfect and not correctly indicated. Moreover, we know from this letter that he had written down the Sonata Op. 111 (like Op. 109) twice. In this case, both manuscripts have been preserved – the early autograph score, however, is a fragment because the second movement is missing.[5]

Another hint at a concept can be found in a letter which Beethoven wrote to his nephew Karl in 1825 concerning his String Quartet Op. 132: "For God's sake reassurance about the quartet, terrible loss, the concept is written on nothing but small pieces of paper, and I will never again be able to write the whole thing like this –".[6] At that time Beethoven feared that a part of his autograph score had been lost.

On the basis of these quotations we can assume that Beethoven referred to an autograph score that was still unfinished as a concept. Such a score could sometimes be almost complete – as with the Sonatas Op. 109 and Op. 111. But it could as well be so rudimentary (as with Op. 132) that Beethoven feared he could not restore the work on the basis of the concept. No further information about this type of working manuscript can be obtained from Beethoven's letters. In order to find out more about them, one must inevitably consult the sources.

In this paper I will focus on a certain part of the compositional process: the transition from sketching to elaborating a work and writing it down. What did this transition from one phase of working to the next consist of? Presented roughly and in a simplified way, while sketching, Beethoven collected his first ideas for a composition, which he developed further and further. At the end of the sketching phase, he usually wrote down one single or some alternative continuity drafts. Thus he fixed the course of the leading voice. Subsequently, he proceeded to the next phase of working: the elaboration of the score. In doing so he also changed the manuscript: Beethoven no longer worked in sketchbooks but used new sheets of paper. Depending on the instrumentation, he chose a certain size of paper with a corresponding number of staves. This change of working phase was also accompanied by a change of writing style – from the fleeting private handwriting used in sketches to a cleaner writing style that could be understood by an outside reader.

gleich". Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 4, p. 474 (No. 1458). English: Barry Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven's 35 Piano Sonatas*, London/New York 2017, p. 198.

5 First autograph score of the first movement: Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 71. Second autograph score: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 198.

6 Letter from 11 August 1825: "Um Gottes willen nur beruhigung wegen dem *quartett*, schrecklicher verlust, auf nichts als kleinen Fezen ist das *Concept* geschrieben, u. nie mehr werde ich im stande seyn das ganze so zu schreiben –". Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 6, pp. 131 f. (No. 2029). English translation by the author.

As a first step in the elaboration of the work, Beethoven usually copied the leading voice from the last continuity draft and wrote it down into the empty score.[7] He distributed the leading voice among the various instruments and then worked out the rest of the score. With the change of working phase, Beethoven's role also changed: he turned from an inventor and collector of ideas into a copyist of his own musical text, of his sketches. As a 'creative copyist' he sometimes changed the leading voice when copying it. The numerous revisions in Beethoven's working manuscripts show that the elaboration of the score was not just routine work. Apparently, it was not always possible for Beethoven to work out a piece within one single manuscript that could then be handed over to a copyist or publisher. This is evident from manuscripts which contain an intermediate stage between sketches and the final score. They contain the first stage of elaboration of a work. Such manuscripts have been preserved for only a few of Beethoven's works. Lewis Lockwood believes that "composing scores, let alone advanced sketches that formed intermediate stages of his works on their way to completion, must have existed for many instrumental works of the middle years, although few have survived."[8] Sieghard Brandenburg makes similar assumptions and calls such a manuscript "pre-autograph"[9] or "Konzeptschrift".[10]

7 He did so, for example, with the Eighth Symphony, see Federica Rovelli: Revisionsprozesse in Beethovens Niederschriften der achten Symphonie op. 93, in: *Editio. Internationales Jahrbuch für Editionswissenschaft* 31 (2017), pp. 90–116, here pp. 97–100.

8 Lewis Lockwood: On Beethoven's Revision of the First Movement of the Cello Sonata in A Major, Opus 69, in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata for Violoncello and Piano Op. 69, 1. Movement. Facsimile of Autograph* NE 179 *in the Beethoven-Haus Bonn*, ed. and with commentary by Jens Dufner and Lewis Lockwood, Bonn 2015, pp. 37–49, here p. 37.

9 "Besonders rein geschriebene, an Korrekturen arme Autographen lassen stets vermuten, daß ihnen Partiturskizzen oder 'Vorautographen' vorausgingen, von denen Beethoven die endgültige Niederschrift kopiert hat. Der Nachweis über das einstige Vorhandensein solcher partiturähnlichen Vorlagen, nach denen Beethoven seine 'Reinschriften', die 'Autographen' im engeren Sinne, anfertigte, läßt sich bei frühen Werken meistens nur indirekt führen, da der Komponist diesen Manuskripten, nachdem sie ihren Zweck erfüllt hatten, vermutlich keinen Wert beimaß und sich nicht um ihre Aufbewahrung bemühte [...]. Auf die Existenz von partiturähnlichen Vorlagen lassen einige Schreibversehen in Reinschriften schließen, die als typische Kopierfehler anzusehen sind. [...] Der Sinn solcher partiturähnlichen Manuskripte zwischen Skizze und Reinschrift ist klar, sie dienten der Ausgestaltung der Nebenstimmen, vielleicht auch der Instrumentation, nachdem die Hauptstimmen bereits im eigentlichen Skizzenbuch entworfen und im Zusammenhang niedergeschrieben waren." Ludwig van Beethoven: *Keßlersches Skizzenbuch*, Vol. 1: Übertragung von Sieghard Brandenburg, Bonn 1978, p. 11.

10 Ludwig van Beethoven: *Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101. Faksimile nach dem Autograph im Besitz des Beethoven-Hauses Bonn*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1998, p. v.

This paper presents various manuscripts which are no longer sketches but also not yet complete, fully elaborated scores that could be given to a copyist or used for the engraving. Possibly these manuscripts represent what Beethoven himself called concepts. The following questions will be discussed: Which characteristics do these manuscripts exhibit? How can we distinguish them from sketches? Which function did they have for Beethoven? Can we find such composing scores for works of every genre?

In order to find such manuscripts, it is necessary to detect works for which two autograph scores have survived. Furthermore, scores that can be called 'fair copies' because they are written down neatly and contain few corrections, which indicates that Beethoven copied them from a model, are interesting. If such manuscripts include copying errors, this is a further indication that Beethoven copied them from a source that no longer exists.[11]

Piano music In the field of piano music, there are some works for which two autograph scores have been preserved. The Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101 is a perfect example for retracing Beethoven's working method from sketch to fair copy: for a part of the first movement – or, more precisely, approximately the last 50 measures – a late sketch[12] has survived as well as a composing score[13] and a second autograph score.[14]

The continuity draft (see Figure 1) comprises bars 55–94, so it covers approximately the second half of the movement. It is very similar to the final version and differs from it mainly regarding register and because it is incomplete in texture.[15] It consists of the leading voice and the bass; only the leading voice is present in monophonic sections. The sketch contains many traces of changes: first Beethoven had written down the melodic progression in ink; later he revised and partly completed it in pencil. As usual for sketches, the musical text is incomplete with regard to elements of primary notation: the clefs are missing as well as key and time signature, but also quaver flags, dots, accidentals and clef changes are omitted sometimes. Elements of secondary notation (like slurs, dynamics) are almost non-existent.

After Beethoven had sketched the leading voice and the bass, he started to work out the movement. His first autograph score has been partially preserved (see Figure 2).

11 In the appendix there is a list of several works for which two autograph scores have survived. It also contains works for which we can assume that two scores originally existed.

12 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB Bsk 13/61.

13 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. Vm.7 537, fol. 49.

14 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 219. Sieghard Brandenburg was the first one to examine these manuscripts in detail, see Beethoven: *Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101*, ed. by Brandenburg, pp. III–XI.

15 See Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven's 35 Piano Sonatas*, p. 160.

Figure 1 Sketch for the Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 55–94; Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB BSk 13/61, verso (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6114035556679680/scan/1)[16]

Today the manuscript only consists of two pages containing bars 53–102, but probably Beethoven had written down the complete movement, and the first half of the bifolio has been lost. This first attempt of writing down the sonata shows the first step in the elaboration of the movement; it is a private working manuscript of Beethoven's. This is evident from the fact that the texture is incomplete in some measures, like for example in measures 67, 72 and 74: in the upper stave Beethoven wrote only the melody with single notes instead of the chords in the final version. Furthermore, the bass is missing completely in measures 72 and 74. In addition, not all of the final articulation marks and dynamics are present yet.[17] The manuscript also exhibits characteristics of sketch notation such as missing beams, accidentals and clef changes.

Despite that incompleteness this manuscript is not a sketch because the writing is much cleaner than usual for sketches. At the top of every page, Beethoven wrote down the clefs and the key signature. Moreover, the secondary notation is more developed than

16 All weblinks in this article last consulted 6 October 2022.

17 See Beethoven: *Klaviersonate A-Dur opus 101*, ed. by Brandenburg, p. IV.

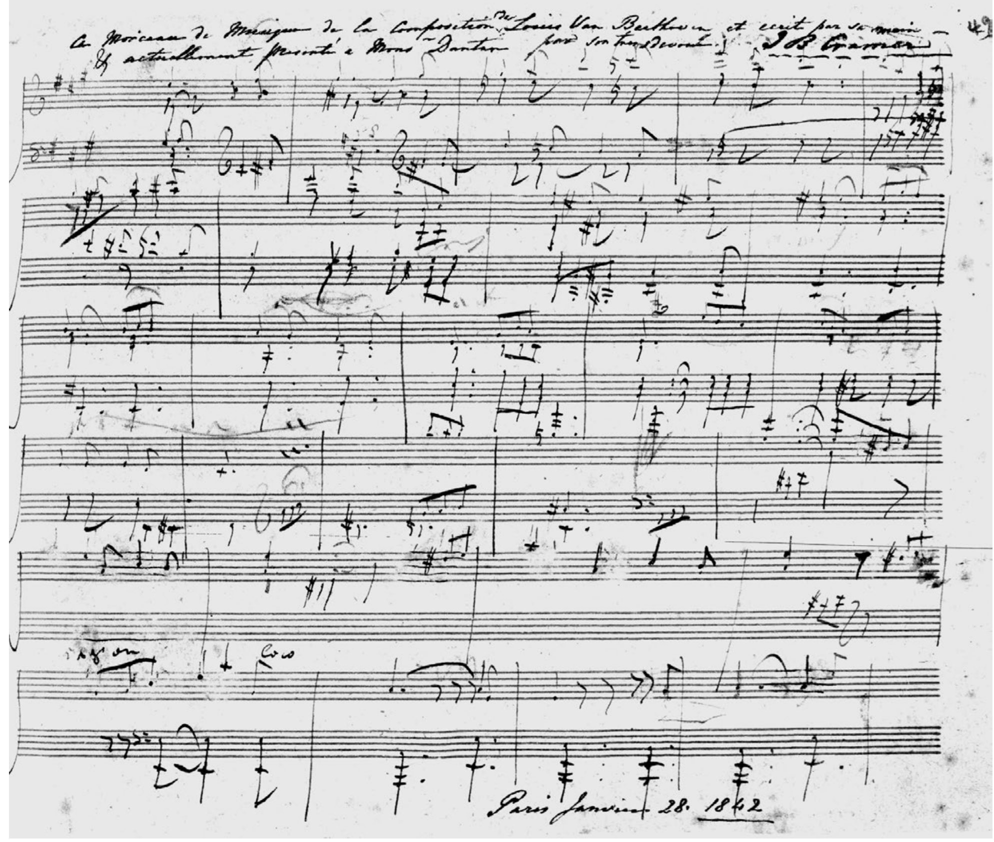

FIGURE 2 Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 53–79, first autograph score; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Rés. Vm.7 537, fol. 49r

in the continuity draft. From a musical point of view, it is a textual stage between sketch and completed work: the text is more complete than in the sketch because the inner voices are now also largely present. The musical text does not differ significantly from the final version: there are, for example, minor rhythmic variants.

Beethoven probably used the composing score as a model for the second autograph score of the movement which he copied from there.[18] With regard to the first movement, this score contains few traces of revision.

However, Beethoven made a mistake when copying the movement from his composing score: he left out bar 78 – probably he was distracted by the change of pages. Later, he wrote down the measure on the margin (see the last measure in Figure 3). Forgotten measures that were inserted later or bars which are written down twice are typical copying errors and can be found in many manuscripts which Beethoven copied from a model.

18 There are no composing scores for the other movements of the sonata.

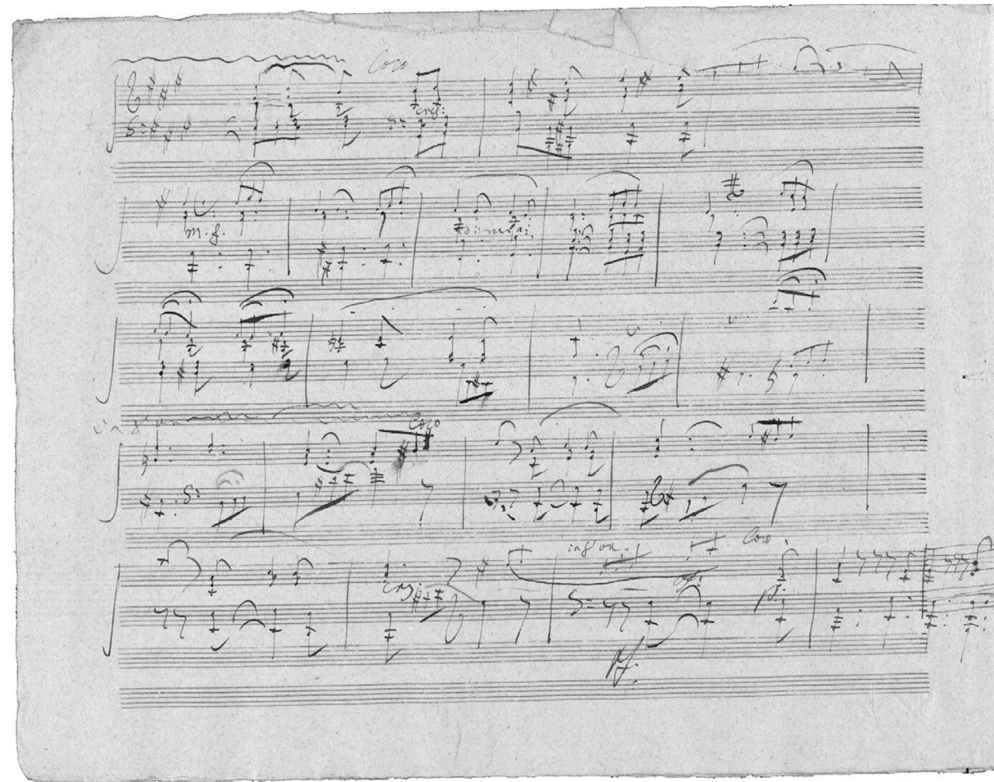

Figure 3 Piano Sonata in A major Op. 101, first movement, bars 59–78, second autograph score, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 219, p. 4 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6696224245678080/scan/5)

Another piano piece for which two complete autograph scores exist is the Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2.[19] The earlier score[20] is a working manuscript that could not be given to a copyist because it contains so many revisions (see Figure 4).

In this composing score Beethoven initially wrote down the leading voice in ink in a first basic layer. Then he completed the musical text with pencil and made numerous changes to the text he had already written, especially in the second part of the Bagatelle (from bar 62). The text written in pencil shows a sketchy, fleeting handwriting. Beethoven used the pencil to try out different variants and to make major revisions, which made the score very confusing.

This working manuscript has some similarities with the composing score of the Sonata Op. 101: the texture is partly incomplete; rhythmic elements (such as beams), rests and clef changes are sometimes missing. In addition, the performance indication "can-

19 See Sieghard Brandenburg's description of the two sources in Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sechs Bagatellen für Klavier Op. 126. Faksimile der Handschriften und der Originalausgabe mit einem Kommentar*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Vol. 2: Originalausgabe, Übertragung, Kommentar, Bonn 1984, p. 66.

20 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 1–2.

FIGURE 4 Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2, first page of the first autograph score; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 1r

tabile" at the beginning of the second part is not present yet. Dynamic indications and slurs are not completely set. Nevertheless, this is not a sketch but a first document of the elaboration of the work since Beethoven wrote down the clefs, key and time signature at the beginning of the piece, and at least the basic layer of the musical text is notated rather neatly. The clear division of the pages with blank staves between the piano systems and the fact that Beethoven wrote down the complete piece up to the end also distinguish the manuscript from a sketch. Since he had revised the first autograph score so much, Beethoven wrote down the Bagatelle anew.[21]

In the second autograph score, Beethoven adopted the beginning of the piece (bars 1–61) with only a few changes from the composing score and completed the Bagatelle in terms of dynamics, slurs and performance indications. From measure 62 onwards, he no longer followed the original: the second autograph score contains a more developed form. The new version of this section was written down by Beethoven without further revision (he did, however, use the empty intermediate staves for short pencil sketches).

21 Today the pages of the second autograph score can be found in the following manuscripts: Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, Mh 23, fol. 3r/v and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 3r/v.

Figure 5 **Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2, first page of the second autograph score; Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, Mh 23, fol. 3r (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6514452203569152/scan/4)**

Thus the manuscript shows few traces of changes and exhibits the characteristics of a fair copy. But Beethoven was still not satisfied with measures 58–73: now it was no longer necessary to rewrite the whole Bagatelle, but it was sufficient to exchange the last two pages (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. 74, fol. 3r/v). Beethoven removed them and replaced them with a new version that had been modified again (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Mh 23, fol. 4r/v). In this case, there are greater musical differences between the first and second autograph score of the piece than in the Sonata Op. 101, where the musical text of both scores is very similar.

After looking at the two examples, the characteristics of Beethoven's composing scores can be summarised. The musical text of these manuscripts is not fully elaborated: elements of the primary notation are sometimes missing, such as beams, rests, accidentals or clef changes. Especially the secondary notation is not developed completely. Occasionally, the manuscripts are also incomplete regarding texture. Some of the composing scores have been heavily revised and are therefore often confusing and unclear. For these reasons they were not addressed to an outside reader but were private working manuscripts.

But the manuscripts are not sketches either – on the one hand, because they are not located within sketchbooks and, on the other hand, because they do not only contain sections of a work but the complete composition or a whole movement. Moreover, works with several instruments are written in a score in which at least all the parts are planned – even if sometimes not all have been completed. Mostly, but not always, Beethoven wrote down the clefs and key signature at the beginning of the work or at the top of every page. The majority of the musical text is not written in a sketchy writing style but rather more neatly. There are also more dynamic indications and articulation marks in the composing scores than in sketches. The musical text of these working manuscripts may differ significantly from the final version (Bagatelle Op. 126 No. 2) or may be quite similar (Sonata Op. 101).

Vocal music Another typical example of a composing score can be found among the continental folksong settings ("Como la mariposa" WoO 158 No. 20); here a fair copy has survived as well. "Como la mariposa" is an arrangement of a Spanish song for two voices accompanied by a piano trio. In this case the initial compositional situation is different from the piano works considered above. There, Beethoven himself invented and sketched the musical material that formed the starting point for the elaboration of the work. In contrast, the Spanish melody he arranged here was given. In this case Beethoven did not create the leading voice himself, nor did he change it, but he added the accompaniment consisting of piano, violin and cello. Because of that there are no sketches for this folksong setting, but Beethoven used a composing score to elaborate the accompanying parts.[22]

The outward appearance of this manuscript clearly shows that it was intended for Beethoven's own use only: at the beginning of the song there are no clefs and no key or time signature. In the whole piece many clef changes, accidentals and rests are missing. From the beginning, Beethoven did not try to write cleanly – the writing style is fleeting, and there are many changes made with ink and pencil. Beethoven worked meticulously at the end of the song (bars 24–30), where he tried out several variants for the ending. In these final measures the string parts are still missing.

The working manuscript comprises the whole song and is written in score. But it is also partly incomplete – concerning the missing string parts and elements of primary notation – and furthermore difficult to read due to the numerous changes. So it was obviously not intended for an outside reader but only for Beethoven himself. Because of that he made a second, this time very clean autograph score of the song.[23]

22 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 79, fol. 1v–2v.

23 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 110v–111r.

Figure 6 "Como la mariposa" WoO 158 No. 20, first page of the first autograph score; Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 79, fol. 1v (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/4850001750523904/scan/3)

The musical text of this fair copy differs in a few measures (bars 13, 15–17) from that of the composing score.[24] There is a major difference in the final measures, which appear in the fair copy in another variant that is one measure longer than the one in the composing score. The whole manuscript is written neatly and contains only few changes.

It is interesting to note that a relatively large number of composing scores (11 in all) has been preserved especially in the field of folksong settings – a group of works which, although quite large, has received less attention in research and musical practice than many of Beethoven's other works. This shows that Beethoven worked intensively on these short pieces, possibly because of the given melody, which he could not change and to which he had to adjust the accompaniment. In contrast to that, Beethoven could change and adjust the melodies he had invented himself during the elaboration of the accompaniment.

For Beethoven's lied "Der Liebende" (WoO 139), two autograph scores have been preserved as well. But in this case it is unlikely that the first score was initially meant to

24 The differences are listed in Ludwig van Beethoven: *Lieder verschiedener Völker*, ed. by Susanne Cox, Munich 2016 (Beethoven. Werke. Gesamtausgabe XI/3), p. 126.

FIGURE 7 "Como la mariposa" WoO 158 No. 20, first page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 110v

be a private working manuscript. It seems that Beethoven intended to make only one valid score at first. During the working process this manuscript became so messy due to changes that he decided to make a copy of the lied before he had finished it. This is documented by a manuscript which is held today in the British Library:[25]

Certain parts of the musical text have been written in a clean and neat manner, and no changes have been made to them. Beethoven seems to have written them down first. This includes the clefs and the key and time signature at the beginning of the lied as well as the entire voice with the lyrics of the first verse, the brackets and bar lines. From this, we can conclude that Beethoven had originally created this manuscript (unlike the composing score for WoO 158 No. 20) as an autograph score that should be handed over to a copyist or publisher.

The elaboration of the piano accompaniment, however, obviously caused some effort since Beethoven made many changes to it. The interlude, for example, which consists of

25 British Library, London, Add. 47852, fol. 13v–14v.

Figure 8 "Der Liebende" WoO 139, first page of the first autograph score; © The British Library Board, Add. 47852, fol. 13v

one single measure (bar 16), was inserted only later. Because of that it is written very tightly, and the notes of the left hand were moved to the lowest empty stave on the page.

Unlike the working manuscripts described before, the first autograph score of the lied "Der Liebende" is not incomplete in terms of texture or secondary notation. But within the postlude, bars 29–31, Beethoven only wrote down the leading voice (that is, the right hand of the piano) and then broke off the elaboration of the score after bar 31. Instead of finishing the score, he made a copy of it – on the one hand because of the extensive revision of the piano part, and on the other hand perhaps because he had left no space for the following verses the first time. He took this into account in the fair copy so that a copyist could later add the second and third verse.[26] The musical text of the second autograph score[27] differs only slightly from that of the first one.

This manuscript is a perfect example of a fair copy by Beethoven because it contains very few traces of revision. Here, again, Beethoven made typical copying errors: when

26 See Ludwig van Beethoven: *Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierbegleitung. Kritischer Bericht*, ed. by Helga Lühning, Munich 1990 (Beethoven. Werke. Gesamtausgabe XII/1), p. 43.

27 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 1v–2v.

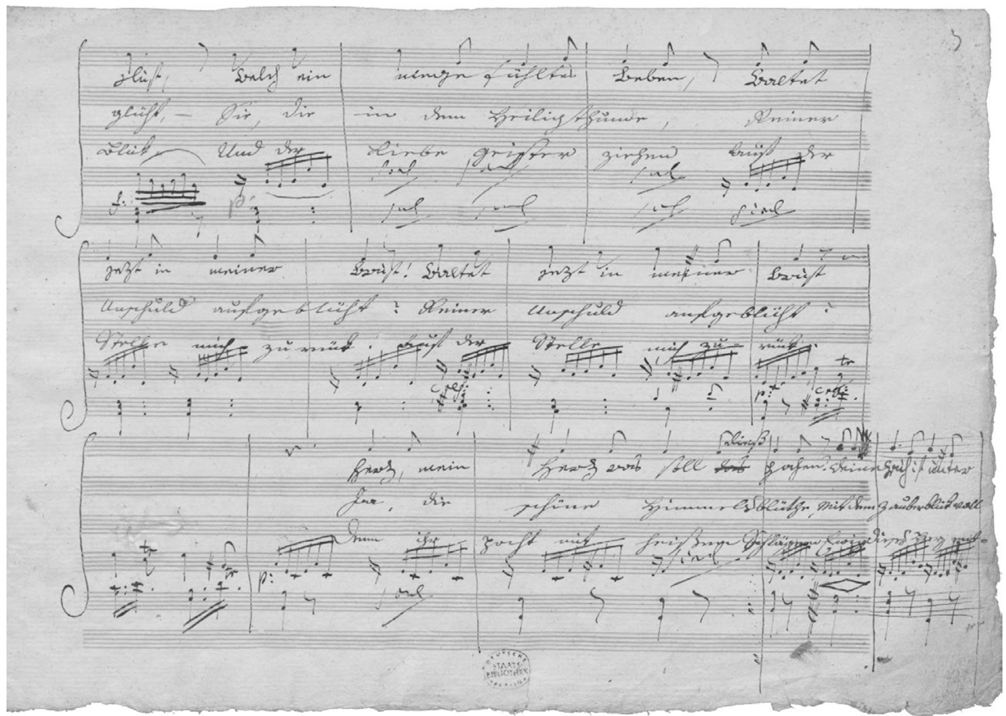

Figure 9 "Der Liebende" WoO 139, second page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 2r

moving from one page to the next, he had initially omitted two bars (bars 20 and 21). When he added the lyrics, he noticed that he had forgotten these measures. He added them at the end of the page (fol. 2r) and at the top of the following page (fol. 2v) in the margin (see Figures 9 and 10). Moreover, Beethoven mistakenly wrote down measure 29 twice. He noticed this, however, before he had added the left hand and crossed out the measure (see Figure 10).[28]

These two examples of the vocal genre show that there could be different starting points when Beethoven began working on an autograph score. In the case of the lied "Der Liebende", he intended to create a manuscript which could be given to a copyist or publisher. During the working process, the manuscript became so confusing due to alterations that it had to be rewritten. In the case of the arrangement of the Spanish folksong, Beethoven set up the manuscript for his own use only from the beginning. Finally, both types of documents are private working manuscripts. Beethoven used them to work out the accompanying parts, to try out different variants and – as can be seen in the example of the Cello Sonata Op. 69 – to change the instrumentation.

28 See Beethoven: *Lieder und Gesänge mit Klavierbegleitung*, p. 43.

FIGURE 10 **"Der Liebende" WoO 139, third page of the second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 2v**

Chamber music For the first movement of the Cello Sonata Op. 69, a composing score has been preserved.[29] This is a typical example of a manuscript that Beethoven had initially prepared as a fair copy. However, it fell back into the stage of a working score because of numerous revisions.[30] The basic writing layer contains an early version of the movement that differs from the final form. Beethoven wrote it down with dynamics and articulation marks and without making many changes. Afterwards, he made several revisions to the text using various darker inks. In this phase of revision, he did not change the structure of the movement but rather the instrumentation, as for example from bar 25 on, where he exchanged the parts of the piano's left hand and of the cello.[31] However,

29 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 179. It is not known whether the other movements originally followed. See Jens Dufner: The Autograph of the Cello Sonata, Op. 69, and Its Role in the Creative Process, in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Sonata for Violoncello and Piano Op. 69, 1. Movement. Facsimile of Autograph* NE *179 in the Beethoven-Haus Bonn*, ed. and with commentary by Jens Dufner and Lewis Lockwood, Bonn 2015, pp. 21–36, here p. 22.

30 See ibid., p. 34.

31 See ibid., pp. 23 f.

even after that revision, the manuscript did not yet contain the final version of the movement. This version can only be found in a copy by Joseph Klumpar, which has been corrected by Beethoven.[32] A second, more developed autograph score of the movement, which served as a model for the copy, must have existed but is lost now.[33]

As with the lied WoO 139, the first autograph score of the cello sonata was not planned as a composing score initially. It only became a private working manuscript through the revisions made later on. Moreover, in this case the document following the working manuscript, the second autograph score, has not been preserved.

Usually, the situation is reversed: the first composing score is lost, and only the second autograph score has survived. In particular, if Beethoven's autograph scores contain copying errors, it is likely that a working manuscript originally existed, which served Beethoven as a model for the second score.[34] A clear copying error can be found, for example, in the autograph score of the Seven Variations on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" for Piano and Cello WoO 46:[35]

On page 7, in the second system the beginning of the third variation is notated. Beethoven marked it with "Var. 3", but he mistakenly wrote down the first two bars of variation 4 in this system. He noticed his mistake, crossed out the measures and then wrote down the correct variation 3. Because of that we can assume that he copied from a manuscript that has not been preserved.

Beethoven's score sketches are considered to be typical of the creative process of his last years, because sketches of this kind have survived in large numbers for the late string quartets. Since Beethoven made so many sketches in score for the late quartets, we might assume that he did not need additional composing scores for these works. Questions of voice leading and instrumentation could have already been resolved in the score sketches. Nevertheless, a few composing scores have been preserved. For example, such a working manuscript exists for the last movement of the String Quartet in B♭ major Op. 130.[36]

32 Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam, Hs. 62 v 3.

33 See Dufner: The Autograph of the Cello Sonata, p. 26.

34 Sieghard Brandenburg mentions two cases in which, due to copying errors in fair copies, he suspects that a composing score originally existed which Beethoven used as a model for the fair copy: autograph score of the Violin Sonata Op. 30 No. 2 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB Mh 26) and fragment of the autograph score of the Violin Sonata Op. 47 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, NE 86). In both cases Beethoven either omitted measures or wrote some bars down twice when copying, see Beethoven: *Keßlersches Skizzenbuch*, Vol. 1, p. 11.

35 Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 77.

36 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c. No early autograph scores have been preserved for the other movements.

Figure 11 Seven Variations on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" for Piano and Cello WoO 46, autograph score; Beethoven-Haus Bonn, BH 77, p. 7 (www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/6611834882752512/scan/6)

This manuscript contains the complete movement in score, and it was heavily revised in many places: some pages have become unclear due to deletions or short sketches in pencil and ink (see Figure 12). Moreover, the score is incomplete concerning secondary notation: sometimes Beethoven made dynamic indications only in one of the parts instead of all.

There is also a second autograph score of the movement, which was written later.[37] Beethoven made several changes in this score as well. But he made most of them by erasing notes instead of crossing them out to ensure legibility (see Figure 13).

The same applies to the third and fourth movement of the String Quartet Op. 131: in addition to score sketches, there is an early composing score.[38] Since score sketches as well as composing scores do exist for both quartets, the composing scores can be dis-

37 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10.

38 For further information about the sources please consult the appendix.

FIGURE 12 String Quartet in B♭ major Op. 130, last movement, first autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c, fol. 22v

tinguished from the score sketches as an independent type of manuscript. However, the exact relationship between score sketches, composing scores and second autograph scores is still to be explored in detail with regard to Beethoven's late string quartets.

After piano music, lied and chamber music, a quick glance at orchestral works concludes this paper. During my research, I have found only one example of a work with a larger instrumentation for which a composing score exists: the *Opferlied* Op. 121b. The composing score, which is today in private hands,[39] is a fragment – it only comprises measures 32–63. It contains many revisions by Beethoven and is incomplete regarding texture: in several bars single parts like the second violin, viola and cello are missing. In addition, the part of the cello is in a stage of draft and differs greatly from the final version. Furthermore, there are almost no slurs or dynamic indications. For the *Opferlied* a second

39 See the facsimile of the first page in Ludwig van Beethoven: *Werke für Chor und Orchester*, ed. by Armin Raab, Munich 1998 (Beethoven. Werke. Gesamtausgabe x/2), p. 245.

Figure 13 String Quartet in B♭ major Op. 130, last movement, second autograph score; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10, fol. 17r

autograph score[40] exists as well. Beethoven probably copied it from the composing score because there are some copying errors. On several pages the manuscript is a kind of fair copy. It nevertheless also contains pages with some traces of revision.[41]

Conclusion Beethoven's composing scores provide an insight into the working phase that follows the sketching: the elaboration of the score. Usually, Beethoven seems to have developed and completed his works within one single manuscript. But sometimes he used two manuscripts: a composing score and a second autograph score, which can be a fair copy.[42]

A composing score is a manuscript designed to be complete, which contains a whole piece or movement but is nevertheless partially incomplete. For example, individual parts

40 Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, MH 4694/c.

41 See the description of both manuscripts in Beethoven: *Werke für Chor und Orchester*, p. 246.

42 Of course not every second autograph score is a fair copy. Sometimes Beethoven made several revisions in those manuscripts as well.

may not be fully elaborated, the secondary notation is often not entirely executed and elements of the primary notation may also be missing. Usually, these working manuscripts show many traces of revision. Composing scores can have various functions: Beethoven used them to try out different variants, to work out the accompanying parts or to change the instrumentation.

In some cases he made a first autograph score which was only intended for his own use (like WoO 158 No. 20). In other cases a manuscript which was initially prepared as a fair copy later fell back into the stage of a draft because of numerous revisions. Then Beethoven wrote down a second score (like WoO 139 or Op. 69).

Two autograph scores for one work have survived mainly for piano music, lied, folksong settings and chamber music. The sources suggest that Beethoven rarely made two scores when writing large orchestral works, possibly because this would have involved a lot of writing. In these cases he probably rather exchanged individual leaves.

Often Beethoven's early composing scores only survive as fragments. In some cases they are missing altogether, but we can assume, on the basis of fair copies with copying errors, that they most likely existed originally. The reverse situation, a preserved composing score, but a lost second autograph score, is less common. This situation can be explained by the fact that Beethoven was less concerned with preserving his incomplete working manuscripts than he was with preserving the finished scores. How many composing scores actually existed is difficult to say; as long as the search for such concepts continues, there is the possibility of finding further evidence that deepens our understanding of Beethoven's compositional process.

Appendix

Opus/WoO		genre	date	first autograph score	second autograph score
		piano music			
1	Op. 101	piano sonata	1816/17	F-Pn, Vm.[7] 537 fol. 49 (1st movement, bb. 53–102)	D-BNba, NE 219
2	Op. 109	piano sonata	1821	A-Wgm, A 47 (3rd movement, bb. 41–48, 57–96)	US-Wc, ML 30.8b. B4 op. 109 1820 Case
3	Op. 111	piano sonata	1822	D-BNba, BH 71 (1st movement)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 198
4	Op. 126/2	bagatelle	1824	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 74, fol. 1–2	D-BNba, Mh 23, fol. 3r/v and F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 74, fol. 3r/v

5	Op. 126/6	bagatelle	1824	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 81, fol. 1–2 (bb. 19–74)	D-BNba, Mh 23, fol. 13v–15v
		vocal music			
6	Op. 75/3	lied ("Flohlied")	1809	–	D-BNba, NE 220
7	Op. 75/6	lied ("Der Zufriedene")	1809	RUS-Mda, Fonds 1290, Slg. N. B. Yussupov, op. 8, N 231, Liste 5	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 3r/v
8	WoO 139	lied ("Der Liebende")	1809	GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 47852, fol. 13v–14v (bb. 1–31)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 173, fol. 1v–2v
9	Op. 128	lied ("Der Kuss")	1822	F-Pc (in: Pn), Ms. 33 (bb. 22–49)	GB-Lbl, Slg. Zweig, MS. 10, fol. 1r–2v
10	Op. 108 Nos. 15, 16, 12, 8	folksong settings	1816	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 4, fol. 54r–61r	RUS-SPsc, F. 991, Nr. 101, pp. 1–13
11	WoO 158 No. 4	folksong settings	1816	CH-Bu, Slg. Geigy-Hagenbach 1666 (bb. 19–37)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 107v–108v
12	WoO 158 No. 15	folksong settings	1816	J-Tn (bb. 1–14)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 107r
13	WoO 158 No. 19	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, BH 79, fol. 1r (bb. 26–30)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 109r–110r
14	WoO 158 No. 20	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, BH 79, fol. 1v–2v	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 110v–111r
15	WoO 158 No. 21	folksong settings	1816	D-BNba, NE 21, fol. 1r–2v (bb. 21–41)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 12, fol. 111v–113r
16	Op. 108 No. 22	folksong settings	1817	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 13, fol. 127v–130v	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 13, fol. 131r–133v (from b. 9)
17	Op. 108 No. 2	folksong settings	1818	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 7, fol. 78v, 83r (bb. 1–4, 36–43); in private hands (bb. 22–35)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 29 II, Heft 7, fol. 79r–81v

18	Op. 121b	*Opferlied* for solo voices, chorus and orchestra	1825	in private hands (bb. 32–63)	A-Wst, MH 4694/c
		chamber music			
19	WoO 46	7 Variations on "Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen" for Piano and Cello	1801	–	D-BNba, BH 77
20	Op. 30/2	violin sonata	1802/03	–	D-BNba, HCB Mh 26
21	Op. 47	violin sonata	1803/04	–	D-BNba, NE 86 (1st movement)
22	Op. 69	cello sonata	1808	D-BNba, NE 179 (1st movement)	–
23	Op. 130	string quartet	1825/26	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., 19c (6th movement)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Grasnick 10 (6th movement)
24	Op. 131	string quartet	1825/26	Pl-Kj, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven Artaria 211, fol. 19r–40r (3rd and 4th movement)	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Mend.-Stift 19 (3rd and 4th movement)

Mario Aschauer

Text, Context, and Creative Process in Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*

One of the many great aspects of composer anniversaries, such as Ludwig van Beethoven's 250th birthday in 2020, is that they have a tendency to shed light upon yet-to-be-illuminated corners of music history. Among the many projects that have received more attention leading up to this anniversary was Anton Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. For example, Rudolf Buchbinder made it a starting point for an entirely new cycle of variations by contemporary composers,[1] and the European Piano Teachers' Association (EPTA) Germany made it the theme for their annual conference, including a complete performance of all fifty variations by piano students from all over Europe.[2] The German music publisher Bärenreiter in Kassel decided to honour the occasion with the first modern edition of both parts of Diabelli's mammoth project – Beethoven's Op. 120 but also the fifty variations by Vienna's composers and virtuosos – perhaps the most impressive 'family picture' of Viennese pianoforte culture in the 1820s.[3] I was honoured to have been asked to be in charge for this project, and this article summarises the philological problems that both parts of the *Künstlerverein* pose. It argues in favour of a less-traditional editorial approach that does not emphasise a 'one work, one text' philosophy but instead remains truthful to and presents the unevennesses caused by particular working and publication processes. It presents selected examples of the methodology and illustrates the reasoning behind it.

Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*: the sources Table 1 lists the main manuscripts and printed sources that document Beethoven's fascinating creative process that resulted in the 33 *Veränderungen*. The composer's sketches preceding the autograph score of the cycle have been the subject of a thorough investigation that has produced compelling results about the genesis of the work.[4] With the recent acquisition of Beethoven's previously

1 Rudolf Buchbinder: *The Diabelli Project* (Berlin, Deutsche Grammophon, 2020).

2 EPTA: *42nd International EPTA Conference – Online Conference* (2020), http://epta-deutschland.de/cms/front_content.php?idart=22 (last accessed 1 June 2023).

3 Ludwig van Beethoven et al.: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein. Veränderungen für das Piano Forte über ein vorgelegtes Thema, componirt von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern und Virtuosen Wien's und der k. k. oesterreichischen Staaten*, ed. by Mario Aschauer, Kassel 2020.

4 See William Kinderman: *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations*, Oxford 1989.

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inaccessible autograph manuscript[5] (source **A**) by the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn and the resulting public availability of the source, a new dimension was added to a thorny source situation. The sources that earlier modern editions were based on include a manuscript copy that Beethoven had extensively revised in anticipation of an English edition (source **B**), several pages with lists of corrections in the *Engelmann Sketchbook* (source **A4**), and the first edition by Diabelli with various title pages and plate corrections (source **C**). A further manuscript copy (source **B2**) remains lost.

Table 1 The sources for Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*, Op. 120

A	Autograph manuscript. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: NE 294.
A2	Autograph fragment (inserted leaf with the end of Variation 31). Beethoven-Haus Bonn.
A3	Autograph title page. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: NE 363.
A4	*Engelmann Sketchbook* with corrections for Op. 120 on pp. 16–18 and 33 as well as a fair copy of Diabelli's waltz in Beethoven's hand on p. 37. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: HCB Mh 60.
B	Manuscript copy by an anonymous copyist and Wenzel Schlemmer (fol. 30r–31v) with numerous corrections and revisions by Beethoven for an English edition ('London copy'). Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: HCB Mh 55.
B2	Manuscript copy by Wenzel Rampl, last known in Archduke Rudolph's collection. Whereabouts unknown, but **A3** may have constituted its title page.
C	First edition.
	Title variants
C1	"33 | VERÄNDERUNGEN | über einen Walzer | für das | Piano-Forte | componirt, und | Der Frau Antonia von Brentano | gebornen Edlen von Birkenstock | hochachtungsvoll zugeeignet | von | LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN | 120tes Werk. | [left:] № 1380. [middle:] Eigenthum der Verleger. [right:] 2 fl. 45 X. C. M./5 fl. 30 X. W. W. | Wien bey Cappi u: Diabelli, Graben № 1133. | Leipzig bey C. F. Peters."
C2	"33 | VERÄNDERUNGEN | über einen Walzer | für das | Piano-Forte | componirt und | Der Frau Antonia von Brentano | gebornen Edlen von Birkenstock | hochachtungsvoll zugeeignet | von | LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN | 120tes Werk. | [left:] № 1380 [middle:] Eigenthum der Verleger [right:] 2 fl. 45 X. C. M. | Wien, bey A. Diabelli et Comp. Graben № 1133. | Leipzig bey H. A. Probst."
	Music plate variants
C.1	39 plates paginated as pp. 4–43 engraved by Joseph Sigg (engraver's mark on p. 43: "Gestochen v:[on] Jos:[eph] Sigg."), original stage.
C.2	Like **C.1** plus circa 60 corrections.
C.3	Like **C.2** plus extra measure inserted after measure 5 in Variation 4.

5 *Ludwig van Beethoven: 33 Veränderungen C-Dur über einen Walzer von Anton Diabelli für Klavier op. 120*, Vol. 1: Faksimile des Autographs NE 294 im Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Bonn 2010 (Ausgewählte Handschriften in Faksimile-Ausgaben, Vol. 19), pp. V–VI.

The autograph (A) Beethoven's autograph is a true working manuscript. Not only does it show countless corrections that occurred in the process of developing the sketches into a finished version,[6] but it also displays multiple layers of revisions, additions, and corrections, in pencil and various shades of black and red ink, that were made after the composition had stabilised to a high degree of completeness. Some of these revisions seem to have been triggered when Beethoven looked over his manuscript from a compositional perspective. Others can be shown to be connected with Beethoven's proofreading of copy manuscripts and the first edition. For example, it would be tempting to interpret the over sixty corrections and annotations in red ink, which stand out so colourfully in the manuscript, as one coherent layer of revision. However, closer inspection and comparison reveals that they not only derive from several separate phases of revision but are also connected to multiple other sources. About half of the red-ink corrections in **A** can be associated with the revision involving the list of corrections in the *Engelmann Sketchbook* **A4** (see discussion below). The other half, many of them with the remark "*london*" in the margin, stems from a slightly later date when Beethoven was involved with the first edition **C**.

Beyond the purely musical sources, there is also a considerable amount of documentary evidence in Beethoven's conversation books and his correspondence to be considered here. Unfortunately, in most cases the references in the conversation books cannot be dated exactly. Furthermore, they only document one side of the conversation, not Beethoven's response, and often lack the context to fully evince their meaning. Similarly, some of the key letters regarding the 33 *Veränderungen* between Beethoven, Schindler, and Diabelli are undated. Therefore, an exact chronology of events and plans is extremely hard to establish, and sources need be interpreted with great caution.

The London copy (B) and the London edition The pianist and composer Ferdinand Ries studied with Beethoven in Vienna between 1801 and 1805.[7] During that period he appears to have functioned as a personal assistant to Beethoven, copying and arranging music, conducting negotiations with publishers, and taking care of personal matters. After Ries had settled in London in 1813, Beethoven began to use his former student's contacts with publishers in England to promote his own works. In this context Beethoven also sought to publish his 33 *Veränderungen* in England, and Ries found a prominent buyer in Thomas

6 Many of these are described in Bernhard R. Appel/Michael Ladenburger: [Untitled Documentation of Beethoven's Autograph of Op. 120], https://internet.beethoven.de/regest/scanid6847_02.pdf (last accessed 8 January 2022).

7 Burkhard Meischein: Ferdinand Ries, in: *Das Beethoven-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinz von Loesch and Claus Raab, Laaber 2008 (Das Beethoven-Handbuch, Vol. 6), pp. 616–618.

Boosey.[8] An entry in the conversation books suggests that Diabelli, at least initially, did not oppose a parallel publication of the variations in London or Paris.[9] Around 21 April 1823, Beethoven asked Schindler to check in on a copyist who had already been working on the variations for eight days.[10] Shortly thereafter, on 25 April, Beethoven notified Ries that "in a few weeks" he would receive his new 33 *Veränderungen*, dedicated to Ries's wife.[11] Five days later Beethoven dated the title page of **B** with 30 April, and in the early days of May, Schindler took the manuscript to Anton Wocher, private secretary of Prince Paul III Anton Esterházy de Galantha, who had agreed to help with a courier to London.[12] However, the courier's departure was delayed. He left Vienna only in the first days of July.[13] By the time he finally reached England, Diabelli's edition (**C**) – with a dedication to Antonia Brentano, much to Ries's irritation – was already for sale in London and thwarted the plans for an English edition.[14] A rather unfavourable review of the Diabelli edition appeared only days later in the August issue of *The Harmonicon*.[15] Blaming Schindler that "everything went wrong", Beethoven wrote apologetically to Ries that "the *variations* were to appear here [in Vienna] only after they had been published in *london*" and "the dedication to *Brentan.*[o] was to be for Germany only, because I was very obliged to her and had nothing else to publish at the moment."[16] A year later, in 1824, Boosey published Beethoven's variations Nos. 1 and 17 along with a selection of variations from the 50 *Veränderungen* as *A Favorite Waltz with Variations for the Piano Forte*.[17]

8 Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, p. 123.

9 Ludwig van Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3: Hefte 23–37, ed. by Karl-Heinz Köhler and Dagmar Beck, Leipzig 1983, p. 178.

10 Beethoven to Schindler, [around 21 April 1823], (No. 1633), in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 5, p. 108.

11 Beethoven to Ferdinand Ries, 25 April 1823, (No. 1636), ibid., p. 112.

12 Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 247.

13 Ibid., p. 395.

14 Wegeler/Ries: *Biographische Notizen*, p. 123.

15 Review in *The Harmonicon* 1 (1823), p. 113; along with a number of other contemporary reviews of Op. 120 and the 50 *Veränderungen* published in: *Ludwig van Beethoven. Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit. Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*, ed. by Stefan Kunze, Laaber 1987, p. 417.

16 "[…] die *Variationen* sollten erst hier erscheinen, nachdem sie in *london* <erschienen>herausgekommen wären, allein alles schief, die dedikation an *Brentan.*[o] sollte nur für Deutschland seyn, da ich ihr sehr verpflichtet u. nichts anders in dem augenblick heraus geben konnte". Beethoven to Ries, 5 September [1823], (No. 1740), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, pp. 225 f., here p. 226. All translations by the author unless otherwise stated.

17 *A Favorite Waltz with Variations for the Piano Forte, Composed by the Following Eminent German Composers. Beethoven. Czerny (C.). Gänsbacher. Gelinek. Hummel. Kalkbrenner. Leidesdorf. List. Mayseder. Moscheles. Mozart Junr. Pixis. Plachy. Tomaschek. Worzischek.* (London [1824]); copy: British Library, Music Collections. Shelfmark: h.3865.o.(6.); for further editions see *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliogra-*

The copy manuscript for London (**B**) shows a degree of revision that must have taken considerable effort on Beethoven's part. The descriptor "überprüfte Abschrift" ("examined copy") by which the manuscript is catalogued and referred to in the literature grossly understates the extent of revision documented in this manuscript. Beyond mere proofreading, by which Beethoven would simply have ensured that the copy represented its model, the composer took the opportunity to revise both copy and composition. In other words, not only was **B** changed in this process but **A** as well. Many of the corrections in **B** were first sketched with pencil and subsequently carried out with ink.

The list of corrections in the Sketchbook 'Engelmann' (A4) In addition to preliminary sketches and a fair copy of Diabelli's waltz, the *Engelmann Sketchbook* contains a three-page list of corrections for the 33 *Veränderungen* (**A4**). A thorough discussion of this source, its curious content, and its role in the revision process of Op. 120 is worthy to be the subject of a separate, in-depth study and exceeds the scope of this article. At any rate, several scholars have suggested that the list resulted from a revision of **A** that Beethoven wanted to transfer subsequently into a temporarily inaccessible **B**.[18] While all the corrections listed in **A4** are present in **B**, more than a quarter of them are missing in **A**. This would suggest that, in fact, the process went in the opposite direction and that Beethoven was correcting **B** when he compiled most entries in **A4** because **A**, or at least parts of it, was not accessible to him at the time – perhaps because it served as the model for the engraving of the plates for the first edition (**C**).

To complicate matters further, as Beethoven entered the **A4** corrections into **A**, he changed his mind about some of them. For example, in Variation 21, measure 6, Beethoven planned to suggest fingering in the left hand on the tied note *a*. He notated "1" over the note in **B**, copied the measure into **A4** and added the comment "1 Daumen" ["1 thumb"]. In **A**, however, there never was a "1" in this measure. Instead, Beethoven cancelled the entry in **A4** with red ink and added "*london*" as a reminder to correct **B**.

The manuscript copy by Wenzel Rampl (B2) Entries in the conversation books and a letter from Beethoven to Schindler show that, before Beethoven moved to Hetzendorf on 17 May 1823, another manuscript copy was ordered from copyist Wenzel Rampl (**B2**).

phisches Werkverzeichnis. Revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Neuausgabe des Verzeichnisses von Georg Kinsky und Hans Halm, ed. by Kurt Dorfmüller, Norbert Gertsch and Julia Ronge, Munich 2014, Vol. 1, p. 774.

18 Ludwig van Beethoven: *33 Veränderungen C-Dur über einen Walzer von Anton Diabelli für Klavier op. 120*, Vol. 2: Faksimile der Originalausgabe (Widmungsexemplar) und Kommentare von Bernhard R. Appel, William Kinderman und Michael Ladenburger, Bonn 2010 (Ausgewählte Handschriften in Faksimile-Ausgaben, Vol. 19), p. 102; Ludwig van Beethoven: *Diabelli-Variationen. Opus 120*, ed. by Felix Loy, Munich 2019, p. IV.

Bernhard R. Appel and Michael Ladenburger suggest that this copy was intended as the model for the Diabelli edition (**C**).[19] Sieghard Brandenburg interprets an entry in the conversation books such that Schindler, before 17 May, suggested that Beethoven order **B2** to give to Diabelli instead of the autograph, which the publisher had demanded as proof of ownership.[20] As so often, the wording of Schindler's suggestion in the conversation book is ambiguous: "how about you let Ramftl [i. e., Rampl] sit in and copy the *Variat.*[ions] one more time, then you must not [or "may not"] give the *manuscript* to *Diab.*[*elli*] any more."[21]

A letter from Beethoven to Schindler from after 17 May confirms the ownership conflict over the autograph manuscript with Diabelli. However, Beethoven also makes it sound as if the proposition of a manuscript copy as substitute for the autograph was either never actually made to Diabelli, or he simply declined:

> "[…] that one has to have the *manuscript* to prove one's ownership, is a new concept to me which I have never heard before, the counter-proof already being the manuscripts which I have and which have been used as models for engraving, and which I have received back – a written document about the ownership of a work has been demanded from me at times, and Diabelli can have one as well – D.[iabelli] could have made a claim on a [manuscript] copy, but you know how the latter turned out all the more since one wanted to give D.[iabelli] the var.[iations] as quickly as possible."[22]

What copy Beethoven is referring to – **B**, **B2**, or yet another, unknown copy – remains ultimately unclear, although **B** with its numerous corrections is a likely candidate.

Curiously, the copy by Rampl had to be carried out discreetly – so much so that even the copyist himself was not to be let in on the plan to its full extent (Schindler: "it will be best if I go to him [i. e., Rampl] in person und tell him what he needs to know and nothing more"[23]). Conversation books and letters alike attest to how Beethoven – frustrated by his financial situation – was dissatisfied with the publication deal he had made with Diabelli

19 Beethoven: 33 *Veränderungen*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

20 Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 127, footnote 5.

21 "[…] wie wäre es denn, wen̄ Sie den Ramftl herein setzten u die *Variat.*[*ionen*] nochmahls *copiren* ließen, dan̄ dürften Sie dem *Diab.*[*elli*] nicht mehr das *Manusc*[*ript*] geben." Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 282.

22 "[…] daß man das *Manuscript* haben muß, um sein Eigenthum zu beweisen, ist mir ein ganz neuer saz, wovon ich nie gehört, <das>den <beweisen>Gegenbeweis liefern schon die M.[*anu*]s.[*crip*]*te*, welche ich habe, u. wo nach mehrern selbst gestochen ist worden, u. ich darnach zurück erhalten habe – eine Schrift über das Eigenthum eines werkes ist wohl von mir zuweilen gefordert worden, u. die kann D.[*iabelli*] auch haben – auf eine Abschrift hätte D. Anspruch machen können, sie wissen aber, wie selbe ausgefallen ist, um so mehr, da man die *Var.* D. so geschwind als nur möglich übergeben wollte." Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May 1823], (No. 1650), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 125.

23 "[…] da ist es am besten, ich gehe selbst zu ihm, u sage ihm, was er zu wissen nöthig hat, u mehr nicht." Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 283.

and with the way he was treated by the publisher. Additionally, the plan of Diabelli publishing the *Missa solemnis* fell through. The offer letters Beethoven wrote to Antonio Pacini in Paris[24] and Carl Lissner in St. Petersburg[25] in early May 1823 can be seen as last-minute attempts by the composer to increase his profit from the 33 *Veränderungen*. Perhaps it was in this context that Beethoven ordered the Rampl copy, which would also explain the secrecy around the copying process. In any case, all efforts to get the 33 *Veränderungen* published abroad ultimately failed, Beethoven lost the fight with Diabelli, and the autograph became the publisher's property. The whereabouts of **B2** are unknown today, and thus its role in the publication process cannot be conclusively established.

At any rate, it is very likely that it was **B2** which Beethoven sent as a gift to Archduke Rudolph on 27 June 1823 – indeed, this may have been its purpose all along. Surely the archduke was eager to see Beethoven's composition since he, too, was one of the contributors to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* (under the acronym 'S. R. D.'). From Rudolph's collection the manuscript probably came into the possession of the Viennese music collector and scholar Aloys Fuchs,[26] who listed a copy of Op. 120 with "the title page in Beethoven's hand" in the catalog of his collection.[27] Such an autograph title page was recently acquired by the Beethoven-Haus Bonn (**A3**), and since it also shows entries in Fuchs's hand, it may have originally belonged to **B2** and would consequently represent Beethoven's latest version of the title.

The first edition (C) When exactly Diabelli received Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* is not entirely clear. An entry in the conversation books could be interpreted such that Diabelli had received the autograph **A** already around mid-April before Beethoven requested it back only shortly thereafter to have **B** copied for the London edition.[28] Since **A** was still being copied for London (**B**) around 21 April, it probably was not returned to Diabelli before the beginning of May. In a letter to Diabelli, Beethoven suggested the following *modus operandi*:

> "my *manus.[cript]* is written on loose bifolios, you could give to *Schindler* as many bifolios as you have written as well as the *copy which* you would always receive back the same day that I receive them that way we *both* would make quick progress".[29]

24 Beethoven to Antonio Pacini, [5 May 1823], (No. 1644), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, pp. 120 f.

25 Beethoven to Carl Lissner, 7 May 1823, (No. 1647), ibid., pp. 123 f.

26 Sieghard Brandenburg: Die Beethovenhandschriften in der Musikaliensammlung des Erzherzogs Rudolph, in: *Zu Beethoven. Aufsätze und Dokumente*, ed. by Harry Goldschmidt, Vol. 3, Berlin 1988, pp. 141–176, here pp. 163 f.

27 Richard Schaal: Handschriften-Kopien aus der Wiener Musiksammlung von Aloys Fuchs, in: *The Haydn Yearbook = Das Haydn Jahrbuch* 7 (1970), pp. 255–280, here p. 264.

28 Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 217.

Unfortunately, this letter is undated. We also don't know whether Diabelli agreed to Beethoven's plan and whether Diabelli indeed created another manuscript copy (unknown today) to serve as an engraving model. That composer and publisher did end up working in instalments is, at least, supported by several documents. Shortly after 17 May Beethoven wrote to Schindler, "Herewith *Diabelli* receives the old [material] and a portion of new [material]. My eyes, which are worse rather than better, only let me work slowly."[30] Moreover, autograph **A**, the *recto* page of a bifolio containing the beginning of Variation 32, shows an autograph remark in red ink: "after the other Diabelli receives this –".[31]

While no actual proofs are extant, several documents[32] demonstrate that, despite serious medical issues with his eyes, Beethoven corrected the proofs for the Diabelli edition **C** and complained on occasion about the high number of mistakes in the engraving carried out by the Viennese music engraver ("Musikalien-Graveur") Joseph Sigg. Curiously, only a part of the revisions Beethoven had undertaken in **A**, **B**, and $\mathbf{A_4}$ made it into the first edition. At the same time Beethoven appears to have continued to revise his composition, prompting further corrections (see above, source **A**). Presumably these corrections arose after Schindler had given **B** to Wocher, and Beethoven made a reminder to himself to ensure they would at some point be carried out in the London edition. A letter from late June 1823 suggests that when it became clear that the departure of the courier to England would be delayed, Beethoven may have received **B** back one more time before it finally left Vienna.[33] This would explain why most of the eleven "london" corrections are actually carried out in **B**. Another group of red-ink corrections in **A** are not in **B** and can therefore be considered to have been made after **B** had finally left Vienna.

29 "[…] mein *Manus.* ist Bögen weise geschrieben, so viel Bögen als sie geschrieben könnten sie *Schindler* geben so wie auch die Abschrift selbe erhielten sie immer am selben Tage, wo ich sie erhalten zurück auf diese weise rükten wir beyde geschwind vor". Beethoven to Diabelli, [middle of April 1823], (No. 1629), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 106.

30 "[…] *diabelli* erhält hier das alte u. eine Portion Neues Meine Augen, die noch[?] <nicht>eher <beßer> schlimmer als beßer laßen nur alles langsam verichten." Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May], (No. 1650), ibid., p. 125.

31 "[…] nach anderem erhält Diabelli dieß –". Beethoven: 33 *Veränderungen*, Vol. 1, p. 65.

32 The letters explicitly referring to Beethoven's proofreading of the first edition include Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May], (No. 1650), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 125; Beethoven to Schindler, 1 June [1823], (No. 1662), ibid., p. 137; Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1668), ibid., p. 147; Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1669), ibid., p. 148; Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670), ibid., p. 149; Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670a), ibid.

33 Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 25 June 1823], (No. 1679), ibid., p. 155.

Beyond that, **C** contains a considerable number of readings that are neither in **A** nor **B**. This may be the result of any combination of the following reasons: firstly, Beethoven may have revised the proofs without transferring the changes into **A**. Secondly, Diabelli, whom Beethoven valued as a proofreader and who advertised the edition with its elegant visual appeal and correctness ("und waren auch möglichst bemüht, in Rücksicht des Stiches Eleganz mit größter Correctheit zu vereinen"),[34] can be assumed to have done some editing in a similar fashion as he did in the 50 *Veränderungen* (discussed below). And thirdly, some deviating readings may simply be mistakes.

In total, seventeen copies of the first edition were consulted for the new Bärenreiter edition.[35] While there may be more stages of plate corrections evident in further extant copies, only the three types described here are relevant for the text of Op. 120.

Around 1860 the successor of *Diabelli und Comp.*, Carl Anton Spina, prepared a new edition of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*.[36] For this purpose he used a copy of the Diabelli print, compared it to Beethoven's autograph (**A**), which was still in the firm's possession (see the section about source $\mathbf{B}_2$), and edited it accordingly for the new engraving. It is safe to assume that the copy he used constitutes the last stage of the plates,[37] here referred to as stage $\mathbf{C}_{.3}$ (the state of the plates of **C** is indicated with a subscript number after the period).

Spina's copy is all but identical with the copies Beethoven received "on fine paper" in the summer of 1823 to give as dedication copies to friends and supporters.[38] The only difference seems to be the extra measure after measure 5 in Variation 4. We refer to this stage as $\mathbf{C}_{.2}$. Several copies extant today deviate from stage $\mathbf{C}_{.2}$ in some sixty details. These copies constitute the earliest stage of the plates, stage $\mathbf{C}_{.1}$.

While the corrections between stage $\mathbf{C}_{.1}$ and $\mathbf{C}_{.2}$ may not have been carried out all at once, they almost certainly occurred under Beethoven's supervision and before he received his own copies.

In early nineteenth-century editions, title pages and musical scores were normally produced by different craftsmen. This is also true for the first edition of Op. 120. Today, two variants of the title page are known: $\mathbf{C}_1$ and $\mathbf{C}_2$ (the title type is indicated with a

34 *Wiener Zeitung* (16 June 1823), p. 554.

35 For a complete list see *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, Critical Commentary.

36 Ludwig van Beethoven: *33 Veränderungen über einen Walzer von A. Diabelli für das Pianoforte componirt und Frau Antonia von Brentano gewidmet* […] Op. 120, Vienna ca 1860, plate number 22.461; copy: Vienna, Austrian National Library, Music Collection, shelfmark: MS4811-4°/11.

37 Vienna, Austrian National Library, Music Collection, shelfmark: SH Beethoven 474.

38 Beethoven's copies "auf schönes Papier" are mentioned in letters from Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1669), Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 148, and Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670), ibid., p. 149.

subscript number immediately following the siglum **C**).[39] The main discerning factor between the two is the name of the publisher. While $\mathbf{C}_{1}$ was published by *Cappi und Diabelli*, $\mathbf{C}_{2}$ shows *Diabelli und Comp.[agnie]* – a name change that occurred between late February and early June 1824.[40] There are two groups of extant copies with the $\mathbf{C}_{2}$ title page; in the main group of $\mathbf{C}_{2}$ copies, the new title page simply takes the place of the old one (followed by two empty pages before the music begins on p. 4). The second group dates from the point when the 33 *Veränderungen* became Part 1 of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* in 1824. The copies of this type show a Künstlerverein series title page on folio 1r and feature the Beethoven title on page 3. We refer to this type as $\mathbf{C}_{\mathbf{V2}}$.

Virtually all stages of plate corrections can be found in combination with any of the described title variants among extant copies, yielding the following types (the number preceding the period denotes the title type, the one after the period the correction stage of the music): $\mathbf{C}_{1.1}$, $\mathbf{C}_{1.2}$, $\mathbf{C}_{2.1}$, $\mathbf{C}_{2.2}$, $\mathbf{C}_{V2.1}$, $\mathbf{C}_{V2.2}$, and $\mathbf{C}_{V2.3}$. A likely scenario for the history of the print would therefore be as follows: first, Diabelli produced a stock of copies of type $\mathbf{C}_{1.1}$, which he advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 16 June 1823 and began to sell. Before Beethoven's eight copies were printed, corrections were carried out on the music plates, yielding type $\mathbf{C}_{1.2}$ for Beethoven's copies. However, Diabelli seems to have had a remaining stock of type $\mathbf{C}_{1.1}$ which, given the considerable expenses for engraving, paper, and printing, he also wanted to sell. This stock appears to have been considerable enough that, when he changed the name of his firm in June 1824, he still had some copies left over. Given the existence of $\mathbf{C}_{2.1}$ copies, Diabelli probably had the outer bifolio of these copies (which contained only the title page on folio 1r and page 44 of the music on folio 2r) exchanged with new ones that contained the new title page. In other words, he turned $\mathbf{C}_{1.1}$ copies into $\mathbf{C}_{2.1}$ copies by replacing the outer bifolio and continued to sell them. Since the name change was officially announced with the publication of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, of which Beethoven's Op. 120 was now Part 1 ("1. Abtheilung"), Diabelli began to sell copies of the print in which a *Künstlerverein* title on page [1] pushed the original title to page [3] ($\mathbf{C}_{V2.2}$). There are, however, also extant copies without the *Künstlerverein* title ($\mathbf{C}_{2.2}$). The latest copies of the print show one more plate correction, namely the additional measure in Variation 4. Unfortunately, we cannot establish the exact time and reason for the correction that led to stage $\mathbf{C}_{.3}$ of the plates.

39 For a bibliographic description see *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, Critical Commentary.

40 The last advertisement of music under *Cappi und Diabelli* appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 27 February 1824; the new name was filed on 3 June, the first advertisement under *Diabelli et Comp.* appeared on 9 June 1824 (see the discussion of Part II below); Alexander Weinmann: *Verlagsverzeichnis Peter Cappi und Cappi & Diabelli (1816 bis 1824)*, Vienna 1983 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages, 2/23), pp. 1 and 18.

The sources for the 50 *Veränderungen* Today, autograph manuscripts are extant for thirty-eight of the 50 *Veränderungen* in the second part of the *Künstlerverein*. Thirty-five were given to the Vienna Court Library (today the Austrian National Library) in 1829 by Diabelli himself.[41] Three further autographs (by Hummel, Kalkbrenner, and Pixis) came to the library from different sources, and a second autograph fair copy of Emanuel Aloys Förster's variation joined the collection as part of the composer's estate. The whereabouts of the autographs for the remaining twelve variations and Czerny's coda are currently unknown; they are believed to be lost.

The individual autographs comprise a wide range of manuscript types. While some constitute carefully produced fair copies (e.g. Vitásek), others show the typical characteristics of a first written version with numerous corrections (e.g. von Winkhler). Assmayr, Moscheles, and Plachý notated their variations on the very leaf Diabelli had sent them with his waltz theme.

While all extant copies of the first edition appear to have the same title page on page [3], they occur with two different *Künstlerverein* series titles on page [1]. Series title 1 was engraved by the Viennese copper engraver and printer Heinrich Zimer.[42] The other, anonymous title 2 is all but identical in content save for one detail: title 1 reads "1te Abtheilung" ("1st Section") while title 2 only shows "ABTHEILUNG" ("Section") with some space for numerals 1 or 2 to be inserted by hand. Otherwise, the main difference between the two titles is their artistic design. Interestingly, no copies of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* with title 1 are known. Title 1 can also be shown to be connected with an earlier stage of the music plates of the 50 *Veränderungen*. In the copies consulted for my edition, two stages of plate corrections can be observed. The later stage of the music plates shows some fourteen corrections, mainly in Czerny's coda. A copy of title 1 is also extant in Anselm Hüttenbrenner's estate. We can therefore assume that title 1 is the earlier of the two titles and was only used briefly and for a smaller number of copies. The music plates were engraved by Joseph Sigg, who had already engraved Beethoven's Op. 120.

Similarities between the two first editions Similar to the first edition of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* (**C**), the edition of the 50 *Veränderungen* also shows at times considerable differences between the autographs and the print. While some of them may stem from undocumented revisions by the composers, others look much more like an editorial

41 Günter Brosche: Einleitung, in: *Anton Diabellis Vaterländischer Künstlerverein. Zweite Abteilung* (1824); *anhand der erhaltenen Originalhandschriften revidierter Nachdruck*, ed. by Günter Brosche, Graz 1983 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol. 136), p. VII.

42 Zimer began to advertise as a copper engraver and printer in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 8 November 1824; similar advertisements can be found until 1845.

intervention by Diabelli. While the average age of the contributors was about forty years, the oldest, Förster and Stadler, were seventy-four, while the youngest were eleven (Franz Liszt), nineteen (Franz von Szalay), and twenty-one (Carl Maria von Bocklet). A generational diversity that is, of course, also reflected in the participants' notational habits so that Diabelli was faced with the difficult task of editing fifty very heterogenous manuscripts into one coherent cycle. While there are many interesting details concerning individual cases, two general aspects of Diabelli's 'house style' are particularly worth reporting: the treatment of appoggiaturas and staccato signs.

It comes as no surprise that particularly the older guard of the fifty composers used appoggiaturas very much in the late eighteenth-century way with different note values – Figure 1 shows two examples by Horzalka and Freystädtler. Yet the engraving standardises each and every appoggiatura, no matter the note value, to a slashed eighth note. The same is true for Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* (Figure 2). In Variation 9, for example, all of Beethoven's 16th-note appoggiaturas are engraved as slashed eighths, which seems to have been a feature in which Beethoven was so uninvested that he did not demand a change. In the same example a similar standardisation effort can be observed with regards to staccato markings. Beethoven's staccato strokes are printed as dots. In this context it is interesting to observe Diabelli's own treatment of staccato signs in the autographs of his waltz where he, in fact, writes signs that could be interpreted as distinct dots and strokes (Figure 3). Yet the first editions of both parts of the *Künstlerverein* standardise to dots only. This, of course, also reflects many Viennese fortepiano treatises from around 1800 that make no distinction between dot and stroke with regard to their execution either.[43]

However, given the extraordinary magnitude of the project, we can assume that it was for the most part not the composers themselves who carried out the proofreading of the edition. Rather, Diabelli took the task upon himself to edit fifty heterogenous manuscripts into one harmonious collection. Moreover, Diabelli took pride in high-quality engraving and made sure to point out in the last sentence of his announcement that "the appearance matches the content".[44]

Problems of editorial procedure Because of his particular working circumstances between April and June 1823, Beethoven carried out multiple revisions without having all three sources at his disposal to work on at the same time. Part of the revision of **B** appears

43 Mario Aschauer: Viennese Pianoforte Treatises as Reflection of Schubert's Pianistic Audience, in: *Schubert and the Piano*, ed. by Matthew Gardner and Christine Martin, Cambridge (forthcoming).

44 "Das Aeußere ist dem Gehalte entsprechend." Anton Diabelli: [Advertisement for Vaterländischer Künstlerverein], in: *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 June 1824, pp. 551 f., here p. 552.

Figure 1 Autographs by Johann Evangelist Horzalka (A-Wn Mus.Hs.18376), top, and Franz Jakob Freystädtler (A-Wn Mus.Hs.18372), bottom, compared with the first edition

Figure 2 Autograph of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* (source A) (D-BNba NE 294), Variation 9, p. 17, compared with the first edition (source C)

Figure 3 Autograph of Diabelli's waltz (A-Wn Mus.Hs. 18399) compared with the first edition

to have occurred at a time when **A** was inaccessible, necessitating **A4** as an intermediary. When finally the **A4**-corrections were incorporated into **A**, Beethoven changed his mind about some of them and returned to **B** to revise once more. About a quarter of the **A4**-corrections that made it into **A** are not in **C** – if by accident or on purpose remains uncertain. Instead, **C** features a number of readings that are in neither of the other two sources. In short, the texts in each of the three sources began to develop a certain degree of individuality on account of Beethoven's revision process – which raises the question how to adequately present these circumstances in a modern 'urtext' edition.

When in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the term 'urtext' began to be used in connection with sheet music, the term itself was not new. A quick search in the big digital corpora of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German literature, journals, and newspapers available to us today actually reveals a pretty regular occurrence of the term. It typically refers to the original-language version of a text, particularly either ancient Greek classics or the Hebrew bible.[45] When the term was then adopted to refer to a philological method for music, it – intentionally or unintentionally – retained that underlying, quasi-biblical *Werkbegriff* or 'work concept', the idea that there is only one true work and therefore only one perfect urtext which the early urtext editors in the 1890s sought to rescue from what had been added by anyone but the composer. The text may even be scattered among several sources, which is when the editor has to function as the work's advocate, deciding "[w]hich source provides the 'correct' (= the composer's ultimate) text, and which is 'wrong'."[46] The fact that this quote is from the website of a well-known publisher today shows how, in essence, this methodology continues to be one of the main schools of philological thought.

Yet in the 120 years since the invention of urtext editions, two important sister-disciplines of philology have made amazing progress: creative-process studies have opened the door to composer's workshops through transcriptions of sketchbooks and monographs describing the geneses of particular works. More recently, the field has even made significant progress employing cutting-edge digital technology, such as the *Beethoven's Werkstatt* project, for example,[47] arguing for a wider understanding of the text that also includes its pretext and corresponding processes.

Consequently, my edition does not pretend coherence where the sources do not support it. The text is based on **A**, because it constitutes the central source from which all others were derived and to which Beethoven returned almost until the end of the creative process. Because of the mechanics of Beethoven's revision processes (as outlined above), **A** supersedes the deviating readings in **B** and **A_4** in most cases. There are, however, instances where **B** shows clear corrections or clarifications in Beethoven's hand that were not transferred to **A** and **C**. These cases could be argued to constitute valid alternative readings and they appear in the edition as ossias and footnotes. Those additions and changes in the state of the first edition that Beethoven received for his own copies (**$C_{1.2}$**)

45 E. g., Moses Mendelssohn: *Die fünf Bücher Moses in hebräischem Urtexte mit einer treuen deutschen Übersetzung*, Vienna 1836.

46 G. Henle Verlag: *What is Urtext?* (s. a.), www.henle.de/us/about-us/what-is-urtext/ (last accessed 1 July 2021).

47 Beethoven-Haus Bonn: *Beethovens Werkstatt. Genetische Textkritik und digitale Musikedition* (s. a.), https://beethovens-werkstatt.de/ (last accessed 1 July 2021).

and that are – in all likelihood – intentional are shown in greyscale, clearly discernible as a separate layer.

For example: in Variation 33 (Figure 4) in the London manuscript, Beethoven explicitly revised the *crescendo* and *decrescendo* hairpins as well as the articulation markings. However, he never transferred these changes into his autograph. In my edition, both readings are given: the autograph as the main text, the London reading as *ossia*. As you can see, the two readings make for a substantially different musical result. Figure 5, from Variation 12, illustrates how Beethoven changed his mind about measures 22–24 at least four or five times, documented in the manuscript sources. The first edition shows yet another reading of these three measures, leaving Beethoven's final decision open. In my edition, the (presumably latest) autograph reading is in black, the reading from the first edition in grey.

The edition of the 50 *Veränderungen* employs a similar method: for those variations and the coda for which no autograph sources are known, the text is based on the first edition; for the thirty-eight variations for which autographs do survive, it is based on the autograph. Additions and revisions in the first edition (identified by a comparison with the autographs) that constitute – in all likelihood – an intended revision of the autograph text, most probably by Diabelli, are shown in my edition in greyscale.

The text of Diabelli's waltz Diabelli's waltz poses an interesting philological problem. The text survives in a total of nine sources. Three of them are Diabelli autographs, sent out to contributors of the collection. Förster made a copy of both the theme and his variation for himself to keep, which became subsequently part of his estate. Beethoven's autograph of the 33 *Veränderungen* (**A**) contains a theme sheet that, as William Kinderman has shown, originally belonged to Beethoven's earliest sketches for the variations and seems to have served as the thematic model for Beethoven's creative process. While it eventually changed its function and became the first page of the autograph, it retained many of its sketch-like characteristics, lacking notational detail and displaying multiple corrections. The London copy **B** shares some of these characteristics, but it seems unlikely that Beethoven's theme sheet served as its model. The first editions of both parts of the *Künstlerverein* contain Diabelli's theme in two separate engravings that deviate in a few details.

Since there does not seem to be any compositional input to Diabelli's waltz on Beethoven's part, I treat it as a work by Diabelli in my edition. A group of manuscripts and prints collectively serve as the main source. These were the closest sources to Diabelli and can be described as complementing one another. While they all differ to some extent, these differences do not seem to be a result of intentional revision but of mistake, negligence, or practicality (e. g., space issues). The edition presents the waltz in a synthesis of

Figure 4 Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*, Variation 33, measures 5–8, sources B, A, and new edition (extract)

the sources, establishing that common underlying text which they individually fail to transmit.

Conclusion We live in a time when more and more musicians, amateurs and professionals alike, engage with the ever-growing collections of historical sources easily and freely available online. YouTube channels and social media groups serve as platforms for thousands of users to discuss aspects of music philology and performance practice. Therefore, I would argue that it is time to reconsider the classical urtext's potential as

FIGURE 5 Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*, Variation 12, measures 20–24, sources C, A, and new edition (extract)

mediator between scholarship and performer. After all, it is one of the very few international 'mass-market products' that we have at our disposal to extend an invitation – particularly to new generations – to engage with source and creative-process studies. Despite the fact that the historical and, it seems, cultural distance to the 'classical' repertoire grows greater every day, our research allows for an ever-deeper understanding of it. Sharing and promoting that understanding in times like these, I think, should be more than ever one of our top priorities.

Roberto Scoccimarro

Beethoven's Sketches for the Last Movement of the Sonata Op. 106. Thoughts on the Creative Process

In an article published in 1991, Nicholas Marston stated that the purpose of his research on Beethoven's sketches for the *Hammerklavier* Sonata Op. 106 was "not primarily to study the sonata or its genesis, but to establish a reliable basis for future such work by addressing some of the problems associated with the sketches".[1] Since then, new contributions on aspects of the creation of the sonata have appeared, but perhaps not in the quantity expected by the author, and only in a few cases specifically dedicated to the sketches. Norbert Gertsch's contribution on the dating and evaluation of the sources, appeared ten years later, proposed relevant chronological clarifications and made available the necessary information in view of the critical edition, but precisely because it was aimed at this purpose, it could not deal with an analysis of the sketches.[2] Among the various aspects examined in it, its updated list of all known sketches for the sonata complements the previous one that appeared in the monograph by Douglas Johnson, Alan Tyson and Robert Winter, *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*.[3] The dissertation by Lana Chae (2014), on the other hand, is actually a new contribution to the study of the sketches, but, while taking into account most of the primary sources available, it represents only a further step in the extremely complex question of the genesis of the work.[4]

Indeed, the large quantity of sources and the difficulty of reading make an integral analytical study of the sketches for Op. 106 a challenge bordering on the impossible. Furthermore, the autograph manuscript, as is well known, is not preserved. Faced with the bulk of the material, this contribution aims to deal only with the sketches relating to the final movement, the three-voice fugue "con alcune licenze", including the introduction that precedes it. Among all the sketches for the sonata, those for the last movement are the most numerous;[5] many of them have not yet been transcribed. For the first three

1 Nicholas Marston: Approaching the Sketches for Beethoven's Hammerklavier Sonata, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44/3 (1991), pp. 404–450, here p. 405.

2 Norbert Gertsch: Ludwig van Beethovens "Hammerklavier"-Sonate op. 106. Bemerkungen zur Datierung und Bewertung der Quellen, in: *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 2 (2001), pp. 63–93.

3 Douglas Johnson/Alan Tyson/Robert Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks. History, Reconstruction, Inventory*, Oxford 1985, pp. 537 f.

4 Lana Chae: *Beethoven's Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106, "Hammerklavier". The Sketching of a Performance*, Los Angeles 2014 (PhD dissertation, chair: prof. Neal Stulberg), available at https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1sg2d2bh (all weblinks in this article last consulted 21 January 2022).

5 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 412.

DOI: 10.26045/kp64-6180-012

movements, the lack of sketch transcriptions is less weighty. In the article mentioned above, for example, Marston actually deals with all movements except the last one, with particular attention to the third movement, Adagio sostenuto, although he also analyses some sketches for the transition to the fugue and early ideas for the fugue theme.

The composition of the last movement of the *Hammerklavier* engaged Beethoven from April 1818 to the end of that year. However, in the pocket sketchbook called *Boldrini*, used by the composer between Fall 1817 and April 1818 and now lost, there were already some ideas for the fugue subject, transcribed by Gustav Nottebohm in the 1870s and discussed by Marston in his article.[6] The points of reference available to establish the chronological order of the sketches for the fugue within the nine months in which it was composed are rather limited. As is known, for Op. 106 Beethoven did not use desk sketchbooks but only three pocket sketchbooks and a large quantity of loose leaves in desk format.[7] The order of these leaves can be reconstructed only on strong evidence of musical continuity or on their hypothetical relationship with the pocket sketchbooks.[8] Perhaps the greatest difficulty consists in proposing an order to the sketches that avoids too-simple assumptions, i. e. keeping in mind the peculiarities of Beethoven's creative method. Before finding a convincing solution to a compositional issue, Beethoven not only dissected it in countless attempts made in a similar form, but he could also temporarily return to a very different previous realisation only to definitively abandon it later. Therefore, while it is desirable and necessary to identify a directionality in the gradual modification of the compositional elements, it is appropriate to imagine that the creative logic did not manifest itself by following a 'straight path' but rather, one could say, a sort of a broken line. After all, the idea of a straight path exists only when we directly relate part of the sketches for a composition to the finished piece, even though the logic of the creative process does not necessarily coincide with that of the final result.[9]

Taking these factors into account, the materials transcribed here have been sorted according to their structural function as if they were part of an academic fugue. Although this approach may seem scholastic, it is justified by Beethoven's procedure. In a large part of the sketches for Op. 106 preserved today, the composer addressed the technical issues by creating groups of sketches dedicated to an element and its formal function: subject

6 Gustav Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, in: *Zweite Beethoveniana*, Leipzig 1887 (2nd revised edition), pp. 123–137; Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 347–357, 535 f.; Marston: Approaching the Sketches, pp. 445–447.

7 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, p. 535.

8 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 420.

9 On this point see Bernhard R. Appel: Sechs Thesen zur genetischen Kritik kompositorischer Prozesse, in: Musiktheorie 20 (2005), pp. 112–122.

and countersubject, inversion and retrograde, augmentation, entrance of the second subject and its combination with the first one.

The aforementioned list of the sketch sources for Op. 106 in *The Beethoven Sketchbooks* contains the watermarks identified by the authors and further detailed information.[10] In Table 1, alongside the known watermarks, I added in the last column some dating information that diverges from what is reported in the catalogue entries of the relative music libraries. The proposed dates are based mainly on reasons of musical contiguity, sometimes supported by the identity of the paper type.

Table 1 **Beethoven: Sonata Op. 106, sketch sources of the fourth movement[11]**

Shelfmark	Format	Number of leaves	Paper type (JTW 1985)[12]	Number of staves	Date (catalogue entry)	Date (Literature)	Proposed date
GB-Cfm, Mu. MS 289[13]	pocket	1	33[14]	12	ca 1817		
Boldrini (p. 18–127)[15]	pocket	64(?)[16]	?	?	–	Fall 1817 to April 1818[17]	
D-BNba HCB Mh 94[18]	desk	2	44	16	1817/1818		spring 1818
D-BNba HCB Mh 93[19]	desk	2	40	16	1817/1818		spring–summer 1818?
D-BNba HCB Bsk 6/54[20]	desk	1	41	16	1817/1818		
CH-Cobodmer Ms. 11651[21]	desk	1	41?	16	no date		summer 1818?

10 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 537 f.
11 This table is a reworking of that of Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 537 f., “Sketches in Standard Format for Opus 106”.
12 Ibid.
13 Permalink of ms. GB-Cfm, Mu. MS 289: https://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/permalink/f/gnrrf3/44CAM_ALMA21397505980003606.
14 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 407.
15 See Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, p. 348.
16 Ibid., p. 347.
17 Ibid.
18 Permalink of ms. D-BNba HCB Mh 94: www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans_de.pl&_dokid=ha:wm240.
19 Permalink of ms. D-BNba HCB Mh 93: www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans_de.pl&_dokid=ha:wm239.
20 Permalink of ms. D-BNba HCB Bsk 6/54: www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans_de.pl&_dokid=ha:wm183.
21 RISM ID no. of ms. CH-Cobodmer Ms. 11651: 400090159.

Shelfmark	Format	Number of leaves	Paper type (JTW 1985)	Number of staves	Date (catalogue entry)	Date (Literature)	Proposed date
D-BNba BH 125[22]	desk	1 (fragment)	38	8 of 20	1817/1818		
US-PRscheide 132[23]	desk	4	44?	16	ca 1819		May/June 1818
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	36	35	12		April to June or July 1818[24]–Mid May 1818 to July 1818[25]	
US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	desk	4	44	16	1817?		May–July 1818
A-Wgm A 44	desk, pocket	14 (+3 desk leaves)	35	16 12		July/August 1818[26]	
PL-Kj Mendelssohn-Stiftung 2 (partly belonging to A-Wgm 44)	pocket	28	35?	Different numbers of staves		July/August 1818	
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 54[28]	desk	1 (fragment)	41[27]	10 of 16	1818 (summer/fall)		summer 1818
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 58[29]	desk	1	44	16	1818 (summer/fall)		
US-PRscheide 131[30]	desk	6	38; ?; 33	8; 20; 12; 10; 16	1818?		summer/fall 1818
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16[31]	desk	8	41	16	1818 (Fall)		July–Fall 1818

22 Permalink of ms. D-BNba BH 125: www.beethoven.de/de/s/catalogs?opac=hans_de.pl&_dokid=ha:wm84.

23 Permalink of ms. US-PRscheide 132: http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/5h73q066m.

24 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, p. 351.

25 Gertsch: Ludwig van Beethovens “Hammerklavier”-Sonate, p. 70.

26 Ibid.

27 Paper type identified by Brenneis for the RISM catalogue entry 464001321.

28 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 54: 464001321. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001788700000000.

29 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v. 58: 464000847. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00014A6600000000.

30 Permalink of ms. US-PRscheide 131: http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/9880vv59s.

31 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16: 464001324. Catalogue entry by Clemens Brenneis. Digitisation: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001787400000000.

Shelfmark	Format	Number of leaves	Paper type (JTW 1985)	Number of staves	Date (catalogue entry)	Date (Literature)	Proposed date
D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Grasnick 20b, fols. 7–8, 11–12[32]	desk	4	41	16	1818 (Fall)		
US-NYpm, Cary Collection 550	desk	1	?	16		between Boldrini and A 45[33] (early 1818)	
Listed in Sotheby's catalogue, 5 December 1997,[34] sold on 6 December 2002 and now in a private collection[35]	not viewed	1	?	8		ca 1818	

Known sketch concordances Before describing some affinities between groups of manuscripts observed during the study and transcription of the sketches, I will summarise here the already known connections, found mainly by Nicholas Marston and Sieghard Brandenburg.[36]

Sure points of reference for establishing chronological connections between the sketches for the fourth movement of Op. 106 are the pocket sketchbooks A-Wgm A 45 and A 44, dated April–July and July–August 1818 respectively. The date of the manuscript A 45 has been established thanks to the words written by Beethoven on folio 25r/v and to an entry in his diary concerning his stay in Brühl (near Mödling) in May 1818;[37] that of A 44 has been ascertained on the basis of the Bagatelle WoO 60, composed on 14 August 1818, the sketch of which is found on folio 8r of that manuscript.[38]

The connection between the single leaf GB-Cfm Mu. MS 289 and the pocket sketchbook A 45 has been ascertained by Marston, who in particular underlines the affinity

32 RISM ID no. of ms. D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L.v., Grasnick 20b, fols. 7 f., 11 f.: 464000279. Digitised version: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000EE2F00000000.

33 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 439.

34 See Ira F. Brilliant: Beethoven Auction Report Sotheby's (London), December 6, 2002, in: *The Beethoven Journal* 17/2 (2002), pp. 72 f. I thank Richard Kramer for further information about this source.

35 See also the description of the manuscript on Sotheby's website (www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2002/music-ballet-l02306/lot.16.html).

36 Sieghard Brandenburg: Die Skizzen zur Neunten Symphonie, in: *Zu Beethoven. Aufsätze und Dokumente*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1984, pp. 88–129.

37 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 353 f.

38 Ibid., pp. 355–357.

between the fugue theme on the verso of MS 289 and that on folio 3r in A 45 (Figure 1). Marston suggests that MS 289 belongs to A 45.[39]

Here, however, it should be added that the paper type of MS 289 (type 33, see Table 1) is different from that found in all 36 leaves of A 45 (type 35).[40] Furthermore, in comparison with A 45, MS 289 presents a singularity: Beethoven wrote across the entire width of the leaf, like on a desk-format sketch.[41] This occurs in A 45 only on leaves 20v–21r ("the bibliographic center of the sketchbook"),[42] and only on stave 1. The authors of *The Beethoven Sketchbooks* do not exclude "the possibility of additional sheets at the outside of the gathering" of manuscript A 45.[43] If this were the case, for reasons of musical affinity the only plausible placement of MS 289 would be before leaf 1 of A 45, shortly before the aforementioned sketch of the fugue theme on folio 3r.

Considerations regarding the first theme of the Adagio sostenuto led Marston to also establish a concordance between A 45 and the manuscript D-BNba HCB Mh 93, which includes, next to sketches for the third movement, also a few attempts for the beginning of the last one:[44] a fugue theme in c♯ minor,[45] here not shown, and a three-voice realisation of the fugue beginning (Figure 2) in a form not so far from the definitive one and quite close to many sketches in A 45.[46]

FIGURE 1 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 3r, st. 4/5 (see GB-Cfm Mu. MS 289, recto)

FIGURE 2 D-BNba HCB Mh 93, fol. 2r, st. 6/7

39 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, pp. 439–447. Marston's transcriptions are on pp. 441 f.

40 In Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 541–563, the known watermarks are described. Type 33 and 35 are on p. 555.

41 Unfortunately, I studied the sketch MS 289 only on the image reproduced in Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 422. It is difficult to say if the leaf was folded at the centre, like the leaves of A 45, but judging from the image, it would seem that it is not.

42 Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 351 f.

43 Ibid., p. 353.

44 Ibid., p. 432.

45 D-BNba HCB Mh 93, fol. 1r.

46 D-BNba HCB Mh 93, fol. 2r/v.

Another known concordance has been observed between the fragment US-NYpm Cary 550 (verso) and a page of the miscellaneous manuscript PL-Kj Mendelssohn 2 (p. 44). Both contain an early formulation of the fugue subject apparently in compound time, still far from the final one; that of the Cary 550 fragment is explicitly called by Beethoven "fuga" (see Figure 7).[47] Sieghard Brandenburg has discovered that some leaves of Mendelssohn 2 belong to A-Wgm A 44, as well as to other manuscripts that do not contain sketches for the Sonata Op. 106.[48]

The last of the known concordances is one between US-PRscheide 132 and D-B Autograph 54.[49] In both manuscripts, we find a version of the transition to the fugue that lingers at length on a dominant pedal and at the end includes a ninth chord. In this case, however, the sketches, although related in overall structure, are not as similar as found in the previous cases.

Table 2 Overview of the relationships between sketch manuscripts on the basis of musical content and paper type

Groups of manuscripts	Format	Paper type
GB-Cfm Mu. MS 289	desk	33
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	35
D-BNba HCB Mh 93	desk	40
US-NWpm Cary Collection 550	desk	?
PL-Kj Mendelssohn 2	pocket	35?
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	35
US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	desk	44
US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	desk	44
us-prscheide 131	desk	38
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	35
US-PRscheide 131	desk	38
US-PRscheide 132	desk	44?
US-PRscheide 132	desk	44?
D-B Autograph 54	desk	41
A-Wgm A 45	pocket	35
D-B Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16	desk	41

47 Images of the fragment US-NYpm Cary 550 are on pp. 424 f. of Marston: Approaching the Sketches; transcriptions of the fugue theme from both manuscripts are on p. 438. In Cary 550 (verso), the fugue theme is in B♭ major; in PL-Kj Mendelssohn 2 (p. 44), it is in D major.

48 Brandenburg: Die Skizzen zur Neunten Symphonie, p. 102, No. 25. The pages that belong to A-Wgm A 44 are 1–4, 43–46, 55/56, 93/94, 95–98.

49 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 447.

US-PRscheide 132	desk	44
D-BNba Mh 94	desk	44
US-WC ML30.8b.B4	desk	44
D-B Autograph 58	desk	44
CH-CObodmer Ms. 11651	desk	41
D-B Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16	desk	41
D-BNba HCB BSk 6/54	desk	41
D-B Grasnick 20b	desk	41

Other concordances and affinities Bearing in mind the aforementioned dates, April–July and July–August 1818, the first of the connections that were not observed until now can be found between A 45 and the four desk leaves of the manuscript US-WC ML30.8b.B4 (Figures 3 and 4).[50] On pages 1 and 2 of us-wc, Beethoven notated in relatively tidy handwriting some sketches of stretti and sequences using the head of the fugue theme, accompaniments for the fugue theme in arpeggios and broken chords as well as an extensive passage in the tonal regions of B major/E major. These sketches are all found in identical form on folios 17v–21v of A 45.

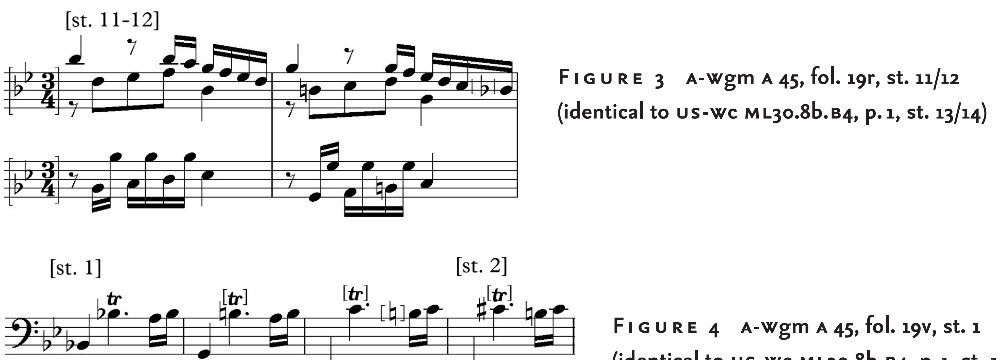


FIGURE 3 **A-Wgm A 45, fol. 19r, st. 11/12 (identical to US-WC ML30.8b.B4, p. 1, st. 13/14)**

FIGURE 4 **A-Wgm A 45, fol. 19v, st. 1 (identical to US-WC ML30.8b.B4, p. 1, st. 14)**

It appears that the manuscript US-WC – at least its first two pages – served as a copy of the sketches notated *en plein air* in the pocket sketchbooks, particularly in A 45. That Beethoven copied materials noted in his pocket sketchbooks on leaves in desk format in order to verify, improve or simply write them more neatly is well known; but the specific link of musical content existing between A 45 and US-WC is of particular interest here, for it contextualises the latter, which can thus be dated – with a margin of approximation, of course – between May and July 1818.

50 The connection between A 45 and US-WC has already been suggested by Chae (2014); however, she does not draw any conclusions regarding the dating of US-WC and its function with respect to the pocket sketchbook. See Chae: *Beethoven's Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106*, p. 143.

Table 3 Concordances between A-Wgm A 45 and US-Wc ML30.8b.B4

A-Wgm A 45	US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	Contents
fol. 17v, st. 11/12	p. 1, st. 10/11	Stretto on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 19r, st. 11/12	p. 1, st. 13/14	Fugue theme accompanied by broken chords in sixteenths
fol. 19v, st. 1/2	p. 1, st. 14	Sequence on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 19v, st. 3–7	p. 1, st. 15/16	Strettos on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 20v, st. 8/9	p. 2, st. 1/2	Stretto on the head of the fugue theme
fol. 21r, st. 2–11	p. 2, st. 1–6	Episode in B major/E major
fol. 21v, st. 1–4	p. 2, st. 7/8	Fugue theme accompanied by arpeggios in sixteenths

The US-Wc manuscript in turn shows a link with another source in desk format, US-PRscheide 131; however, the concordance is limited to only two sketches:

Table 4 Concordances between US-Wc ML30.8b.B4 and US-PRscheide 131

US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	US-PRscheide 131	Contents
p. 1, st. 4	fol. 2v, st. 7/8	Countersubject with syncopated figurations
p. 1, st. 5 and 7	fol. 2v, st. 4	Chromatic sequence with the head of the fugue theme

The link between the two manuscripts offers a clarification of the dating of US-PRscheide 131. The catalogue entry proposes 1818 with a question mark, but a dating of summer/fall 1818 appears to be more exact, suggested by the connection with A 45 and also by another sketch for the transition to the fugue in a very advanced stage to which I will return later.

Another manuscript preserved at Princeton, US-PRscheide 132, shows a connection to A 45 and Scheide 131. In Scheide 132, as in A 45, we find a formulation of the fugue exposition in which the subject, after the sixteenth-note scales, continues with eighth-note triplets. The corresponding passages in the two manuscripts are sometimes so similar that in this case, as in that of US-Wc, it seems that Beethoven used Scheide 132, at least in part, to write out the sketches after the first annotations in pocket format. The date suggested in the catalogue entry of the library is around 1819, but the above-mentioned considerations and the stage of the transition to the fugue – not as advanced as in Scheide 131 – suggest for Scheide 132 a dating between May and June 1818.

The connection between A 45 and the manuscript in desk format D-B Landsberg 9 consists of some identical sketches dedicated to combinations of the head of the fugue theme and the sixteenth notes of the theme itself.

TABLE 5 Concordances between A-Wgm A 45, US-PRscheide 131 and US-PRscheide 132

A-Wgm A 45	US-PRscheide 131	US-PRscheide 132	Contents
fol. 23r, st. 7/8 fol. 23v, st. 2, 7–11 fol. 24r, st. 1–4, 9/10	fol. 4v, st. 1/2	p. 6, st. 6–11 p. 3, st. 1–15 p. 4, st. 1–11	Fugue exposition with continuation of the subject in eighth-note triplets

TABLE 6 Concordances between A-Wgm A 45 and D-B Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16

A-Wgm A 45	D-B Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16	Contents
f. 6r, st. 1–9	f. 2v, st. 10–16	Head of the fugue theme and sixteenths from the theme itself combined together

FIGURE 5 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 6r, st. 1–4 (identical to D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 2v)

This means that – at least at the beginning – Beethoven used the first eight leaves of Landsberg 9 (so far dated Fall 1818) in parallel with A 45, the dating of which is certain. Therefore, backdating Landsberg 9 (pp. 1–16) to between July and Fall 1818 appears to be appropriate.

A final observation regarding possible links between manuscripts concerns their physical characteristics. As one can see in Table 7, two groups of sketches, all in desk format, are written on paper type 41 and 44.[51] Each of the two groups has in common the number of staves, their total span (with minimal differences), and in some cases also the number of stich holes. This fact could be useful in the further organisation of loose desk leaves, if not into full sketchbooks then at least into physical units.

51 On paper types 41 and 44, see Johnson/Tyson/Winter: *The Beethoven Sketchbooks*, pp. 557 f.

Table 7 Sketches in desk format, paper types 41 and 44

Shelfmark	Paper type	Number of staves	Total span in mm.	Stich holes
CH-CObodmer Ms. 11651	41	16	194,5	3
D-B Landsberg 9, pp. 1–16	41	16	195	3
D-BNba HCB BSk 6/54	41	16	195	3
D-B Grasnick 20b	41	16	195	–
D-B Autograph 54	41	10 of 16	?	
US-PRscheide 132	44	16	194–195	3–5
D-BNba Mh 94	44	16	194–195	3
US-Wc ML30.8b.B4	44	16	194–195	–
D-B Autograph 58	44	16	195	–

The fugue subject Some summary observations on the previous studies concerning the fourth movement of the sonata seem to be indispensable here. Thanks to Nottebohm's studies, some of the first experiments with the fugue subject, notated by Beethoven in the lost *Boldrini Sketchbook*, are now preserved and can be read in his *Zweite Beethoveniana*.[52] For one of the earliest, a fugue theme in b♭ minor and in 4/4 (or 2/2) time, Nottebohm imagined a slow tempo and suggested that it could only be used "at the beginning of the last movement".[53] Marston, however, believes that there is no basis for this statement and that this fugue theme could be part of an early plan for the sonata in which the key of b♭ minor would have played a role of some significance.[54] The other sketches for the fugue transcribed by Nottebohm belong to the manuscript A 45[55] and show a slightly later compositional stage of the subject, in which appear for the first time the tenth leap at the beginning and the descending scale segments of the final version. Today, with a far greater number of sketches available, the genetic picture of the fugue theme obviously appears much more complex.

In the 1990s, the corpus of the known sketches was enriched by a new fragment, the aforementioned US-NYpm Cary 550, discovered by Marston and dated between the *Boldrini Sketchbook* and A 45, that is, in the early months of 1818.[56] The "fuga" of the Cary 550 fragment (Figure 7) and the theme notated on folio 3v of manuscript A 45 (Figure 6), despite the obvious differences, contain a common element: the leaps in bar 5 of A 45 (Figure 6) are nearly identical to those of the theme noted in Cary 550 (bars 3–5).

52 Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, pp. 123–137.

53 Ibid., p. 136.

54 Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 444.

55 Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, p. 136, Marston: Approaching the Sketches, p. 444.

56 Ibid., pp. 411–413, 424 f., 436–439, transcription on p. 438; Chae: *Beethoven's Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106*, p. 115.

FIGURE 6 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 3v, st. 6/7

FIGURE 7 US-NYpm, Cary 550, verso, st. 5

FIGURE 8 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 2r, st. 1/2

FIGURE 9 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 2r, st. 4

FIGURE 10 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 9r, st. 12

Though this element links Cary 550 and A 45, what separates the two sketches most clearly is the succession of thirds (b – g – e♭) contained in bars 2–4 of A 45, which will remain a constitutive element of the fugue theme (Figure 6). The leaps in bar 5, instead of creating an ascending line through repetition, like in Cary 550, continue with the broken chords of bars 6/7. As we will see, these are featured in many sketches of the subject that do not contain the leaps of bar 5. Therefore, the sketch of A 45, folio 3v, establishes a genetic link between two very different ideas for the subject.

In the first pages of A 45, there are numerous other experiments with thematic ideas whose function as fugue subject is confirmed due to the presence in the first of them of the answer in the dominant. In these attempts, Beethoven oscillated between very different metres (a probable 6/8; certainly 2/4).[57] The second of the following sketches (Figure 9) is written in pencil, and its continuation in sixteenth notes is unfortunately not legible. In its beginning it is evident that Beethoven intended to experiment with the same pattern of pitches as in the first one (Figure 8), essentially centred on the ascending triad of B♭ major starting from f4 but modifying its rhythmic structure to fit the 2/4 metre.[58]

Although this sketch itself was apparently set aside forever, the ideas it contains find further development on folio 9r of A 45, in which the same rhythmic design is now applied in the context of ternary metre (Figure 10). Apart from the problematic interpretation of bar 4 (as the question marks show), the continuation of the idea is readable here and, as can be seen, decidedly different from bars 5–7 of the theme written in the presumed 6/8 metre (Figure 8).

On leaf 2v of A 45, Beethoven notated a sketch in which almost all pitches of the final version of the subject appear (Figure 11), diverging from the latter in the time indication (𝄵) and in the descending scalar segments, written in eighth instead of sixteenth notes.[59] With some rhythmic variants, this form of the theme recurs in the US-PRscheide 131 manuscript, in the context of sketches accompanied by various verbal annotations which seem to be scattered thoughts for the last movement, perhaps for a final section of it. Above the sketch for the fugue subject, we read the words "Zuletzt 4:stimmig im allabrevetakt".

57 For an alternative transcription of sketch A 45, fol. 2r, st. 1/2 (fugue subject in 6/8 metre), with which I disagree, see Chae: *Beethoven's Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106*, p. 113.

58 For the reading and transcription of the manuscripts A-Wgm 45 and A 44, I used paper prints made available by the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (A-Wgm). I then scanned and edited the images in order to get a better resolution. However, only high-level scans carried out by the library or direct viewing of the sketches would allow for solving numerous reading problems.

59 The sketch has been transcribed in Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, p. 136.

Zuletzt 4:stimmig im allabrevetakt.
Zu 4st[?] C/

[st. 2]

Figure 11 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 2r, st. 1/2

Figure 12 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 2r, st. 8

Figure 13 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 2r, st. 19/20

Figure 14 Johann Sebastian Bach: *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*, Vol. 2, Fuga XXI, BWV 890, bar 1–7; US-PRscheide 131, fol. 3v, st. 8/9

Figure 15 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 2v, st. 4

On stave 8 of the same page, the idea appears again, but the scalar segments are now written in thirty-second notes, a rhythmic option no longer used for the fugue theme (see Figure 12).

Another verbal annotation under the last stave of leaf 2r shows that Beethoven was probably looking for a four-voice keyboard fugue model: "4stimmiges Stück sul clavicembalo". Alongside these words appear short fragments copied from Book II of Bach's *Das wohltemperirte Clavier* (BWV 870–893): from bars 14/15 of the fugue c♯ minor BWV 873, and from bar 5 of the fugue in B♭ major BWV 890, namely the entry of the answer.

In his article "Bach Affinities in Beethoven", William Kinderman had already noted the relationship between the B♭ major fugue and Op. 106, although without going into details.[60] Before him, Hans-Werner Küthen examined, in addition to the sketch shown here in the example above (Figure 13) and the fragment from the c♯ minor fugue, another sketch from leaf 2r of Scheide 131 (staves 16/17), in which Beethoven elaborates the pattern in repeated notes related to the subject of the B♭ major fugue. While the sketch shown in Figure 13 does not seem to have been directly used by Beethoven, Küthen has been able to situate the other two sketches in relation to specific motivic segments of the fugue.[61] In a study on instrumental fugues in Beethoven's late compositions, Dominique Ehrenbaum has relativised the results of Küthen's research, which, beyond motivic relationships, would not say enough about Beethoven's reception of Bach's music.[62] Without going into this matter, I would like to note here that, beyond the assimilation of specific motivic elements, it is possible that, in the subject of the B♭ major fugue, Beethoven sought a stimulus to create a theme based on a concatenation of descending thirds. This can only be assumed, for the sketches offer no hard evidence; but it is noteworthy that the fugue theme of Op. 106 and the first four bars of Bach's subject are harmonically compatible – even if the second bar of Bach's fugue implies a tonic harmony while the third bar of Beethoven's subject implies a VI harmony, or, depending on the context, a IV harmony or a VI-I concatenation.

60 "Nevertheless, there is evidence that the B♭ major fugue from Book 2 of the Well-Tempered Clavier was connected to the genesis of the fugal finale from op. 106." See William Kinderman: Bachian Affinities in Beethoven, in: *Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith*, ed. by Michael Marissen, Lincoln/London 1998 (Bach Perspectives, Vol. 3), pp. 81–108, here p. 95.

61 Hans-Werner Küthen: Quaerendo invenietis. Die Exegese eines Beethoven-Briefes an Haslinger vom 5. September 1823, in: *Musik Edition Interpretation. Gedenkschrift Günther Henle*, ed. by Martin Bente, Munich 1980, pp. 282–313, here pp. 299–302.

62 Dominique Ehrenbaum: *Con alcune licenze. Die Instrumentalfuge im Spätwerk von Ludwig van Beethoven*, Bonn 2013, pp. 87–91.

The hypothesis that Beethoven may have found elements of inspiration in Bach's B♭ major fugue is reinforced by another sketch on the same leaf of US-PRscheide 131, not shown by Küthen and again related to the repeated notes of bars 3 and 4 in the subject of Bach's fugue (see Figure 15).

In the first leaves of A 45, it can be observed how the aforementioned possibility of a subject in a binary metre was soon abandoned. Material appearing on folio 9r, already transcribed by Nottebohm, is still in binary time;[63] here it has been transcribed again in order to show it in the context of the neighbouring sketches. As can be seen in Figure 16, after the double bar line, the material is followed by a different version of the last four notes (d♭, g♭, c, f, staves 6/7), then by the time change (3/4) and finally by the subject in a version similar to the final one. In the following staves Beethoven notated in shortened form ("etc.", stave 8) a dominant pedal belonging to the Largo, the transition to the fugue (which can be deduced from numerous other sketches containing this element) and again the first notes of the sketch beginning (stave 4). The idea of staves 4–6, thus contextualised, seems to belong to the introduction to the fugue, not to the fugue itself. If this interpretation is correct, among other ideas, Beethoven imagined connecting the transition (surely an early form of it, but with pedal point) and the fugue with a passage whose first bar would have anticipated the head of the fugue theme itself. Compared with the dramatic contrast between the improvisational and exploratory climate of the Largo and the entrance of the fugue subject as we know them from the final version, this creative stage represents a very different option.

On leaf 22v of A 45 (stave 10), there is still a hint of a theme in binary time, characterised by the succession of a descending sixth and an ascending fourth, limited to just two bars and therefore fragmentary. More extended experiments with such a subject are numerous in manuscript A 45; after checking it in binary time, Beethoven explored its possibilities in ternary or, more rarely, compound binary metre. In the sketch on folio 22r (Figure 17), the 6/8 metre is explicitly indicated. In Scheide 131 the sketch is again notated in 3/4 metre with some rhythmic modifications (Figure 18).[64]

In Figures 17 and 19, after the first four measures, two elements are to be observed: the succession of degrees 1-2-3, preceded by the movement of six eighth notes over an implicit dominant harmony (bars 5/6 and 7/8 of both examples; see also Figure 21), and the theme continuation in conjunct motion starting from bar 9.

63 Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, p. 136.

64 For a different transcription of this sketch, with which I do not agree, see Chae: *Beethoven's Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106*, p. 159.

Figure 16 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 9r, st. 4–8

Figure 17 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 22r, st. 5–8

Figure 18 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 3r, st. 10

FIGURE 19 US-PRscheide 132, p. 5, st. 1–14

FIGURE 20 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 3r, st. 4–6

FIGURE 21 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 22r, st. 6, bars 6/7 (see also Figure 17)

Beethoven uses both elements, the succession 1-2-3 and the descending conjunct motion, elsewhere as units making up the head of the subject itself. The succession of steps 1-2-3 is found at the beginning of the theme in A 45, folio 3r, (Figure 20, bar 2); the descending line in conjunct motion recurs in Scheide 132, where it constitutes the substance of the first four bars of the theme (Figure 22). Thus, it seems that, when the succession of descending thirds became the constructive nucleus of the theme, the step movement 1-2-3 as well as the measure of six eighth notes preceding it (Figure 21) 'migrated' towards the next phrase of the subject from bar 4 onwards, losing the sense of ascending sequence they had at the beginning of manuscript A 45 (Figure 20) and assuming the V-I harmony alternation function also preserved in the corresponding bars of the subject in the composition.

The succession of thirds b, g, e♭, alongside the developments achieved in the examples above, was also realised in a more explicit form in A 45, folio 22r, in which the sixteenth notes reappear, not as scalar segments, as on leaf 9r, but as a simple ornamentation of the main notes (Figure 23). After its first appearance on leaf 9r (Figure 16), the fugue subject with the continuation in sixteenth notes returns several times on leaves 16v–17r, where the point seems to be the search for diastematic profiles other than descending scalar segments (Figures 24 and 25). Yet, immediately before and after these alternatives, Beethoven insists on the realisation with scalar segments, often adding a second voice (Figure 26). At the beginning of leaf 17r, we find a sketch of the subject with the descending movement in conjunct motion – already observed in US-PRscheide 132 (Figure 22) – combined with a second voice in sixteenth notes, a solution that will not be further explored by the composer (Figure 27). On the same page of Scheide 132, the formulation in descending sixteenth notes is continued up to bar 4, now including the third scalar segment in the same shape as in the final version (Figure 28). The triplets following measure 4 represent an intermediate stage of an even more complex evolutionary process than the first four measures of the subject. This process concerns the building of an area characterised by the alternation between harmonies V and I (bars 5–10 of the subject or 20–25 in the composition); precisely because of its complexity, it will be studied separately in the next section.

The shaping of the subject continuation (bars 20–25) In the moment when the continuation of the subject starting from bar 4 stabilised in the form including the alternation between harmonies V and I, Beethoven dwelt at length on problems of rhythmic configuration. Before using triplets, which are only hinted at in the sketch in Figure 28, the first possibility he explored consisted of simple, broken bichords of eighth notes, building a profile similar to an Alberti bass and undoubtedly very

FIGURE 22 US-PRscheide 132, p. 8, st. 11–14

FIGURE 23 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 22r, st. 3/4

FIGURE 24 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 16v, st. 9–11

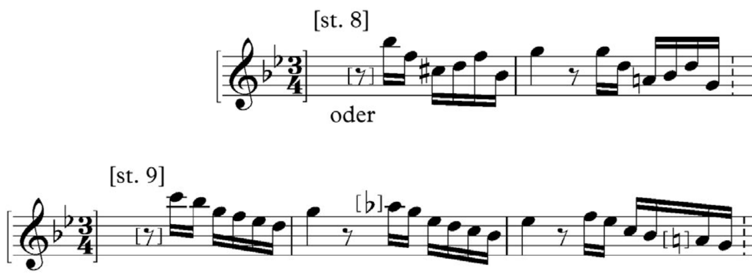


Figure 25 a-wgm a 45, fol. 17r, st. 8/9

Figure 26 a-wgm a 45, fol. 17r, st. 5/6

Figure 27 a-wgm a 45, fol. 17r, st. 4

Figure 28 us-prscheide 132, p. 8, st. 15/16

conventional if compared to the final chromatic solution in sixteenth notes (Figure 29).[65]

On the verso of leaf 2, we find experiments with the possibilities of a rhythmic intensification of the broken chords based on the use of eighth-note triplets after the duplets (Figure 30). Through the use of triplets, it was also possible to insert some hints of chromatic elements in bars 7/8.[66] Indeed, it is possible that the search for a more articulated melodic contour than the too-obvious configuration in broken chords (and duplets) inspired the search for greater rhythmic complexity.

At leaf 23v of sketch A 45 (Figure 31), the eighth-note triplets replace the duplets, and, unlike what ultimately happens in the composition, the alternation of the V and I harmonies in bars 6/7 is not repeated. In Scheide 132, on p. 3, we can see how the same triplet figuration in the previous example (Figure 31, bar 6) is subjected in the following bar to a variation in which the incipient chromaticism seems to conciliate with the residual outline in broken chords (Figure 32, bar 6). In the manuscript CH-CObodmer 11651, while there is still a combination of duplets and triplets, the chromatic continuation of the subject, although not yet in quadruplets but in triplets, is closer to the definitive version of bars 24/25 of the fugue (Figure 33, stave 4, bars 9/10).

Even after turning to the rhythmic solution in quadruplets, Beethoven continued to experiment with broken chords, as can be seen in Figures 34 and 35. In A 45 (Figure 36), we observe the combination of chromaticism and residual broken triads already seen in the previous sketches written in eighth-note triplets, like in Scheide 132 (Figure 32).

In Scheide 131 (for which this contribution has hypothesised a later dating through comparison with US-WC, A 45 and Scheide 132), Beethoven tried an entirely diatonic figuration in the new rhythmic pattern in quadruplets (Figure 37). In a context increasingly characterised by chromaticism (like in the previous leaves of Scheide 131), this appears as a singular 'return' to more conventional solutions.

On the other hand, in Scheide 132 it can be noted how the chromatic figuration found in CH-CObodmer 11651 (Figure 33, stave 4) is now converted to quadruplets, showing a formulation almost identical to bars 24–26 (Figure 38, bars 3 f.).

65 The conventionality of the broken-bichord material has already been noted in Barry Cooper: *The Creation of Beethoven's 32 Sonatas*, New York 2017, pp. 169 f.

66 As can be seen in Figure 30, Beethoven notated the subject on the same stave 10 at different heights at a distance of one third. In the transcription I preferred to show the two lines on two staves.

Figure 29 D-BNba Mh 94, fol. 2r, st. 9/10

Figure 30 D-BNba Mh 94, fol. 2v, st. 10

Figure 31 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 23v, st. 7–12

FIGURE 32 US-PRscheide 132, p. 3, st. 14/15

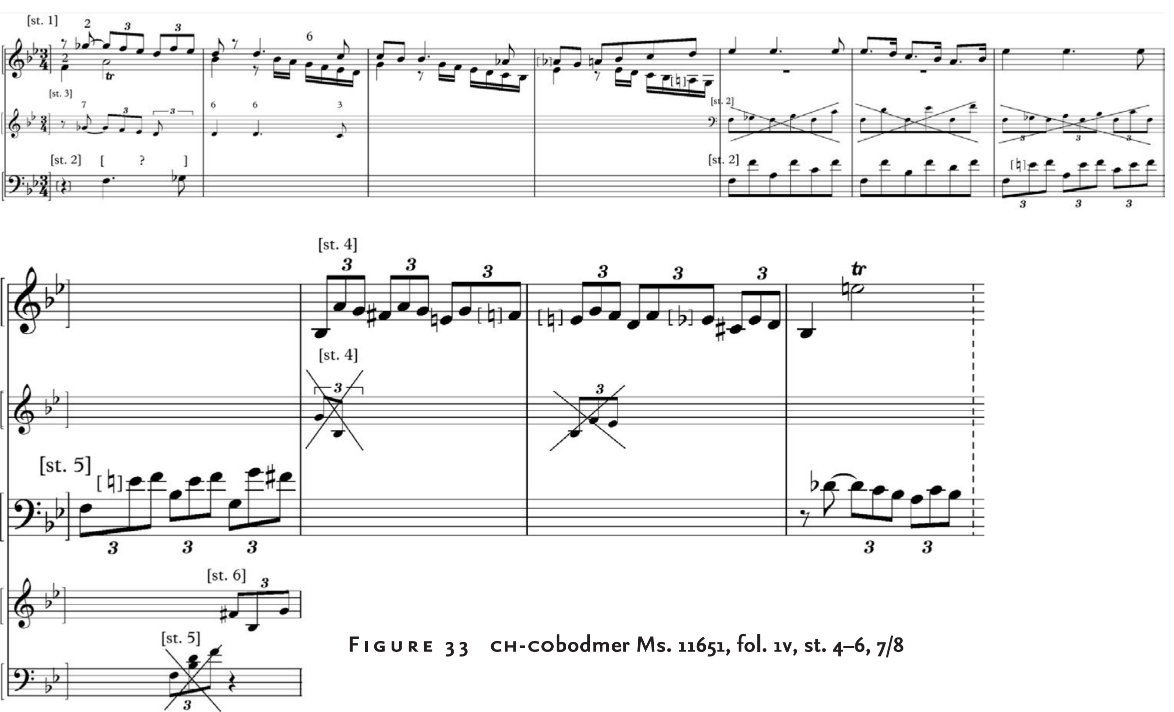


FIGURE 33 CH-CObodmer Ms. 11651, fol. 1v, st. 4–6, 7/8

FIGURE 34 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 3, st. 12/13

FIGURE 35 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 3, st. 15/16

FIGURE 36 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 31r, st. 6/7

FIGURE 37 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 4v, st. 7

FIGURE 38 US-PRscheide 132, p. 6, st. 4

FIGURE 39 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 5, st. 11/12

FIGURE 40 D-B Autograph 58, p. 2, st. 5, and p. 2, st. 9

The outline of the first two bars in Figure 38 can be better contextualised in US-WC, in which Beethoven sketches the same sequence of ascending chromatic notes in eighth notes (Figure 39, bars 4–7) – certainly a shorthand notation, as proved by the last fully written quadruplet of the last bar (Figure 39, bar 7). In the slightly later manuscript D-B Autograph 58 (summer/fall 1818), we find several almost complete sketches of the continuation of the fugue subject in sixteenth notes, now identical to the final formulation.

The countersubject The genesis of the countersubject was an issue at least as complex as that of the subject, to which it is connected in an almost inextricable bond.

In the sketch on page 8 of Scheide 132, we have already observed a formulation of the subject characterised by the conjunct motion and the succession of thirds (Figures 22 and 41). Indeed, if we deprive the line in conjunct motion of the passing notes (bars 2–4), we obtain a sequence of descending thirds very similar to the beginning of the fugue countersubject in its final form (Figure 42). Therefore, what later became the countersubject was initially an integral part of the subject itself. It is understandable that the subject and countersubject – in addition to being two complementary entities – were also similar ones whose individual elements could even be interchanged, since the succession of descending thirds is the common constructive principle and thematic substance of both.

Alongside the descending thirds, the second element characterising the countersubject is the alternation of harmonies between V and I (bars 4–6 of the countersubject, 30–32 of the composition), which has already been mentioned in relation to the subject. If we now look at sketch A 45, folio 22r (Figure 43), we can see how the upper voice is written in double counterpoint with the six eighth notes and the three quarter notes on degrees 1-2-3 of the pattern that appears immediately after on stave 4 (see Figure 23). Both the six eighth notes and the three quarters are actually the motivic elements already described above regarding the change of their position within the subject (see Figures 20, 21 and 23). The segment of two measures of Figure 43 generates the same V-I alternation of bars 30–32 in the final score. The almost identical combination occurs on the verso of leaf 22, staves 3/4, where that contrapuntal segment is written in an implicit 3/8 time (Figure 44). Scheide 131, folio 3r (Figure 18) shows how, at one moment of the compositional process, the two corresponding bars of the subject must have been replaced by the sole upper voice of Figure 43, whereas the lower voice (or upper voice in Figure 44) was never taken up again.

Beethoven's reflection on the contrapuntal building of the countersubject with another voice is displayed on leaf 32r of A 45 (Figure 45), where the composer wrote his

FIGURE 41 US-PRscheide 132, p. 8, st. 11

FIGURE 42 US-WC ML30.8b.B4, p. 7, st. 1–4

FIGURE 43 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 22r, st. 1/2

FIGURE 44 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 22r, st. 3/4

FIGURE 45 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 32r, st. 1/2

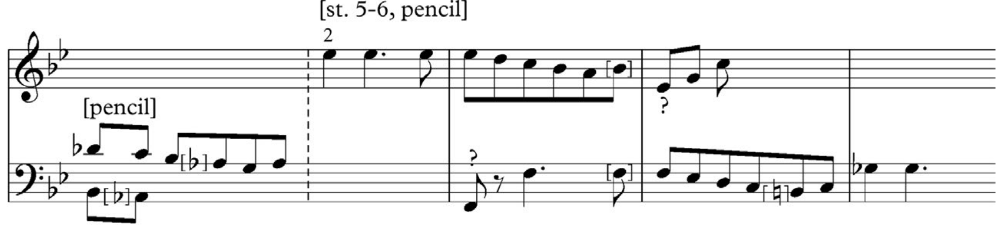


FIGURE 46 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 31v, st. 1/2

FIGURE 47 PL-Kj Mendelssohn-Stiftung 2, p. 4

FIGURE 48 Landsberg 9, fol. 7v, st. 7/8

FIGURE 49 Landsberg 9, fol. 3r, st. 5/6

numeric above and below the two voices in order to check their reciprocal counterpoint functionality.[67] Shortly before this sort-of reminder, on folio 31v there is a sketch of a sequence in which the middle voice of Figure 45 is part of an imitation (Figure 46). Thus, it appears that, from the moment in which this voice was separated from its counterpart (the aforementioned, abandoned upper voice of Figure 44), Beethoven gradually became interested in the canonical or pseudo-canonical potential of the chosen line, that is, of the line actually maintained in the countersubject (Figure 47). While the final version shows a trace of this interest only in the area of the dominant pedal (bars 318–325), the sketches contain several experiments with this possibility. In Landsberg 9, folio 7v (Figure 48), we find the sketch that comes closest to the canonic formulation used in the composition. As can be seen in the following example (Figure 49), a few leaves earlier in the same manuscript, Beethoven notated a countersubject canon at the second in which still appear the quite conventional broken bichords.

The rhythmic aspect of the countersubject kept Beethoven intensely occupied. In particular, the fourth and fifth bars (and their repetition) were subjected to numerous experiments. Figure 50 shows the figuration in dotted rhythms, preserved in numerous sketches. In A 45, folio 23v, some of the different rhythmic options are placed side by side with the explicit indication "oder" (Figure 51). The last of them suggests the presence of a second voice filling the pauses, and Beethoven actually wrote down this possibility in complete form in folio 34r, staves 8–11 (Figure 52).

Alongside the solution in dotted rhythms, the possibility of giving a syncopated rhythm to a segment of the countersubject was also evaluated (Figure 53). The most complex rhythmic attempts consisted in combining the syncopations of one or two of the three voices with the dotted rhythms of the countersubject or even the dotted rhythms with triplets (Figure 54). All these possibilities were abandoned, and in the manuscript Grasnick 20b, the countersubject reached its final version (Figure 55). In these sketches, dated fall 1818, the continuation of the subject had also stabilised in the figuration in quadruplets described above. It is perhaps legitimate to hypothesise that, when the quadruplets became the central rhythmic element of the subject, the outline of the countersubject became much simpler than in the experiments just described, apparently with the aim of making the contrapuntal interlacing intelligible. The rhythmic 'diminution' of the fugue subject and the achievement of linearity in the counter-

67 In Figure 45, the notes of the upper voice (repeated in the bass to test again the practicability of double counterpoint) should be understood more as indicative key points in a harmonic and contrapuntal sense rather than invariable pitches, as the immediately adjacent sketches of the countersubject show (A-Wgm A 45, fol. 32r, st. 7–9, not transcribed in this article).

FIGURE 50 D-BNba, Mh 94, fol. 2r, st. 6/7

FIGURE 51 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 23v, st. 6/7

FIGURE 52 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 34r, st. 8–11

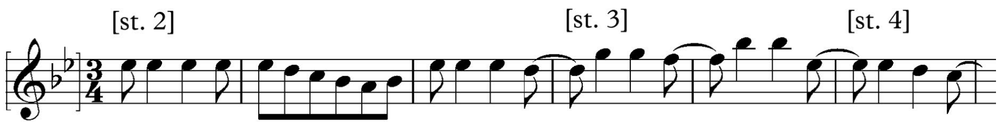


FIGURE 53 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 26v, st. 2–4

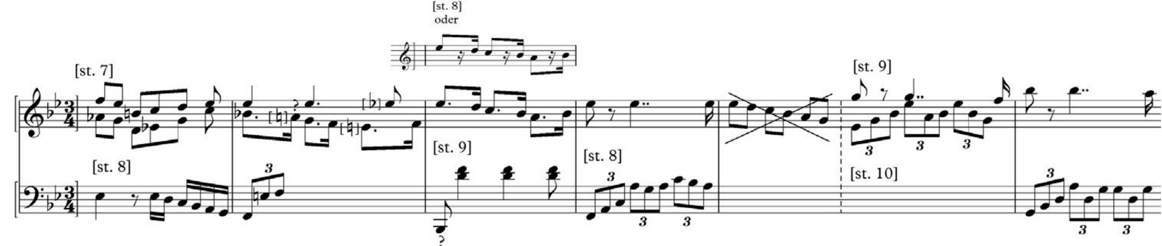


FIGURE 54 CH-CObodmer 11651, fol. 2v, st. 7/8

FIGURE 55 D-B Autograph Grasnick 20b, fol. 7v, st. 15

subject thus appear to be two complementary processes developing in opposite directions.

Towards the continuity drafts Judging from the review of the sources of the fourth movement assembled here, extended continuity drafts of the fugue do not seem to be preserved. Taking into account the common definition of a continuity draft in the Beethoven literature – a sketch for a movement section or even for an entire movement –, for the last movement of the Sonata Op. 106, we have instead several sketches of lesser extent, including in most cases the exposition of the fugue and only sometimes other passages.[68] Furthermore, unlike true continuity drafts, which often represent the last stage before the final autograph manuscript, these sketches show many corrections, some of which are basic. The usefulness of their transcription lies in framing on a larger scale the transformations undergone by the individual structural elements observed thus far.

In CH-CObodmer 11651, folio 2r, staves 1–15 (Figure 56), in which Beethoven tries to lay out the exposition of the fugue, we notice the lack of the fourth measure of the subject, in which the third scalar segment in sixteenth notes usually appears. The third bar is thus directly connected to the segment of two bars destined later to build the countersubject and which in the earlier stages, as in this case, constituted the continuation of the theme itself (bars 5/6 in the composition, in Figure 56 bars 4/5). Here, however, this segment is not subjected to the usual literal repetition. This conception of the subject, characterised by only two scalar segments, is not contained in any of the other collected sketches.

Alongside the configuration of the subject, several other elements appear here still in a state of being defined. The countersubject is a fast, rhythmic counterpoint in sixteenth notes and rests (Figure 56, staves 4/5, bars 11/12), an idea that is not found anywhere else in the corpus of known sketches. The chromaticism appears at stave 7, just before the new subject entrance on the tonic, but it does not yet represent an integral part of the continuation of the theme. Finally, while the triplets have disappeared, there are still some attempts at figurations in broken bichords, which, however, have been crossed out, as can be seen in stave 10. We are thus faced with a sketch that, in the evolutionary process, follows the numerous sketches in triplets (e. g. A 45 and CH-CObodmer [Figure 33]) and precedes the definitive abandonment of the broken chords and the affirmation of chromaticism.

68 Nottebohm noticed that "larger, cohesive sketches are found only in small number. One sees mostly fragmentary passages of at most eight bars" ("[…] größere, zusammenhängende Skizzen kommen nur in geringer Anzahl vor. Meistens sieht man abgebrochene Stellen von höchstens acht Takten"). Nottebohm: Skizzen zur Sonata op. 106, p. 123.

FIGURE 56 CH-CObodmer 11651, fol. 2r, st. 1–15

In Landsberg 9, folio. 1r/v, Beethoven wrote a double version of the fugue exposition and the following 15 bars (Figure 57), exploring the differences between dominance of triplets or quadruplets and the possibility of continuing after the third thematic entrance with a sequence based on the countersubject (bar 13, segment in dotted rhythm, or its version in simple eighth notes). In the first version, between bars 13 and 14, the cross sign has the same function as the more frequent "Vi =", to which corresponds the usual indication "= de" at stave 5 of leaf 1v. The figuration in dotted rhythms from bar 13 is exploited to the maximum as part of a sequence consisting of a concatenation of dominant and seventh chords.

In the alternative sketch on leaf 1v, the passage has been rewritten with a prevalence of sixteenth quadruplets. The melodic line, however, still appears uncertain, so that occasionally two lines overlap, sometimes even three.[69] The sequence following the last thematic entrance combines the sixteenth-note segments from the subject in the lowest voice with the same segment of the countersubject used in the first version, a solution also applied in the composition. Both versions have in common the absence of stretto-like modulating passages built on the first three notes of the subject; in the final version, Beethoven uses the head of the subject not only in proper thematic statements but also in context of sequences.[70]

Yet, at the time of Landsberg 9, Beethoven had already written many sketches that experiment with stretti of the subject. Continuity drafts introducing stretti or stretto-like material, probably created closer to the time of the final autograph, are rare, but in folio 4v of Landsberg 9, we find a sketch of an entry and answer in D♭ major and A♭ major preceded by a sequence on the head of the subject (Figure 58). The whole passage corresponds roughly to bars 26–82 of the fugue in the final version. The two ascending sequences at the beginning and at the end of this sketch follow a harmonic pattern that only partially coincides with the final one; the number of bars also differs. However, the identifiability of the corresponding segments is indubitable (Figure 58, bars 5–14 = 39–52 of the composition; bars 32–40 = 74–82). If the proposed transcription is correct,[71] at the end Beethoven left the sketch open on the dominant of A♭ major such that the tonal

69 In most bars, the versions of the sixteenth-note lines are distinguishable from each other due to the different intensity of the ink, and their chronological order, with some margin of doubt, can be reconstructed. In some bars, however, such as the last two, due to the insistent overlapping of layers, the different versions cannot be read.

70 See bars 42–52 of the composition. On this topic see in this paper the chapter on the stretti, pp. 272–277.

71 As Figure 58 shows, in the last bar of this sketch Beethoven did not write the accidentals for the notes *a* and g. In my transcription the pitches have been interpreted as *a*♭ and g♮.

FIGURE 57 Landsberg 9, fol. 1r, st. 2–13, and 1v, st. 1–9

FIGURE 58 Landsberg 9, fol. 4v, st. 1–9

movement does not seem oriented towards the G♭ major reached in the composition at bar 85. However, the annotation “etc” suggests that the sequence should continue for a few bars.

The second countersubject To the best of my knowledge, the first sketch for the new countersubject (initially presented as chorale-like new subject marked *Sempre dolce e cantabile* in bar 250) is contained in the manuscript A 45 (Figure 59). This assumption is based, in addition to the chronological order of the manuscripts, on an explicit indication by Beethoven, “Contrathema g-moll”, and on the notation of the key signature, usually notated by the composer when material appears for the first time. In addition to the different key (g minor instead of D major in the final version), it should also be noted that the imitation at the lower fifth, in comparison with the composition, appears in the second bar instead of the third.[72] Immediately after, at staves 2–4, Beethoven writes the counterpoint between subject and new countersubject in B♭ major as in the final version but with some alterations in the upper voice and lacking the short modulation in c minor/C major in bars 281–284 of the final version. Therefore, the sketch is conceived according to much more traditional tonal relationships if compared to the contrast between the main key of the fugue, B♭ major, and that of the new countersubject, D major, as realised in the composition.

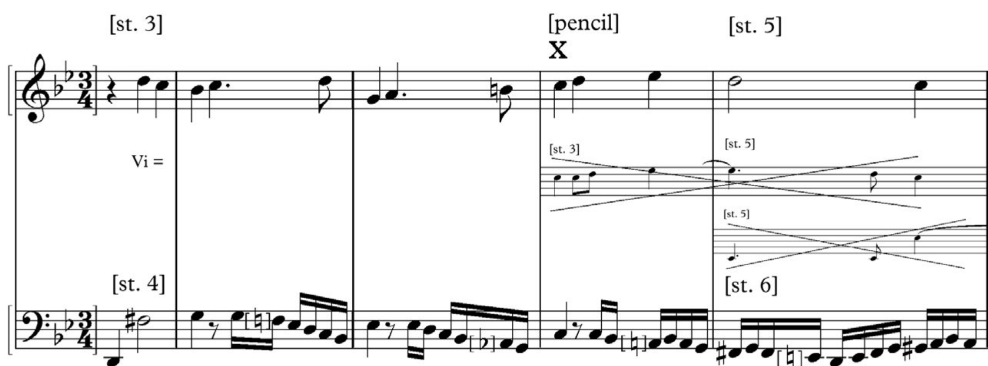
The whole sketch of staves 1–3 occurs again in the manuscript US-Wc[73] and the sketch of stave 1 in Landsberg 9. In the latter, immediately after the sketch of the “contrathema”, Beethoven notated the combination of subject and new countersubject again in the key of g minor but now rigorously continuing the sixteenth notes of the subject and experimenting with a possible continuation of the new countersubject in the upper voices (Figure 60). A passage marked with the reminder “x” has been rewritten in pencil (stave 6, from the second “x”), but now the sixteenth notes break up, and homorhythmic voice leading seems to be the priority. Through this sketch it becomes evident that the composer’s initial intention was a more expanded counterpoint of subject and new countersubject than what is ultimately achieved in the composition, in which, after seven bars, the combination gives way to short fragments extracted from the two materials (*Ben marcato*, bar 286).

Even more difficult to realise must have been the attempts to combine the two voices taken from the beginning of the *Sempre dolce e cantabile* with the subject in the bass. In

72 Ludwig van Beethoven: *Piano Sonata No. 29 in B♭ Major Op. 106 (Hammerklavier)*, ed. by Bertha Antonia Wallner, Munich 1976, bars 250–278.

73 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 1, st. 8/9.

Figure 59 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 17v



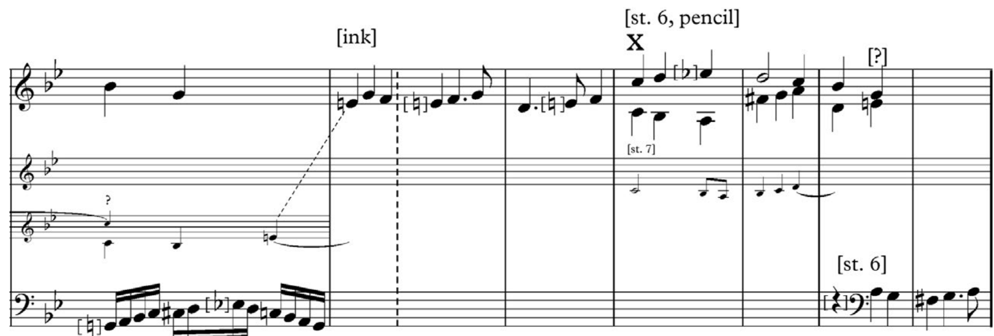


Figure 60 Landsberg 9, fol. 8r, st. 3/4

Figure 61 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 7r, st. 7/8

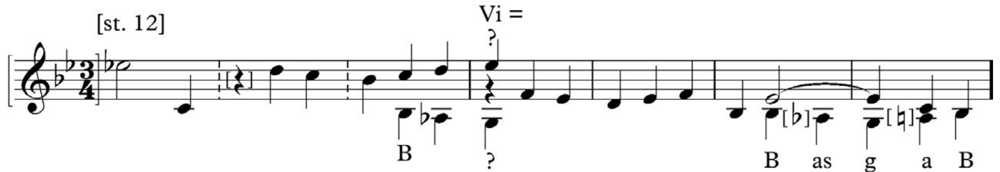


FIGURE 62 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 3r, st. 12

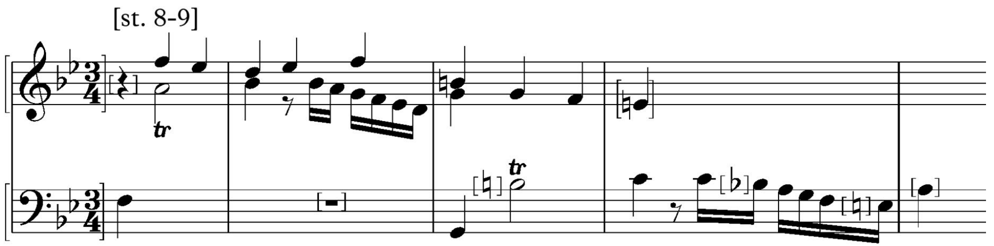


FIGURE 63 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 1v, st. 8/9

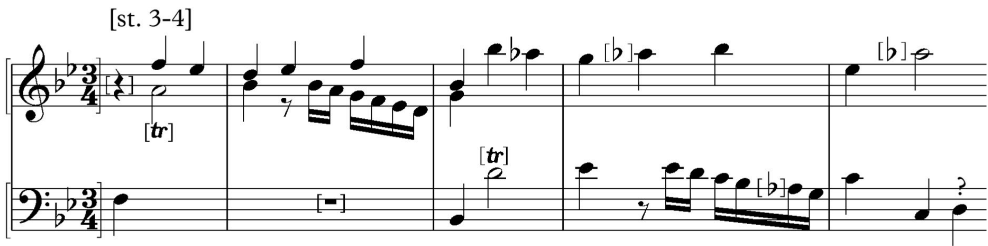


FIGURE 64 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 1v, st. 3/4

FIGURE 65 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 3v, st. 10

Landsberg 9 on folio 7r, we find a sketch of this type, again in the key of g minor (Figure 61). The bass profile, difficult to read, does not appear to literally reproduce the first subject.[74]

For the *Sempre dolce e cantabile* section, Beethoven also considered the idea of an imitation of the second voice at a major third lower, noting verbally the names of the notes (Figure 62).[75] However, in the first leaves of A 44, he had already opted for the combination of the two thematic materials in B♭ major, as was already done in A 45 (Figure 59). On folio 1r, stave 4, in particular, briefly notating the first notes of the new countersubject in B♭ major, he adds, "Es bleibt". The short modulation to C major appears on folio 1v in a form similar to that realised in the composition (Figure 63). On the same leaf 1v, other sketches contain further attempts in combining the two materials with stretto-like entrances on different degrees. One of them is on the subdominant (Figure 64); on leaf 3r, as will be seen in the paragraph on the stretti, the voice entrances are on the tonic and the dominant (Figure 85).

At leaf 2r of A 44 (stave 11, not shown here), the new countersubject appears in the key actually chosen in the composition, D major, and on leaf 3v (Figure 65), the counterpoint of the two materials has reached a form identical to that in the final version. Although the sketch breaks off at the third bar, the c minor/C major modulation now resembles even more closely the corresponding passage of the composition thanks to the addition of a bar (the third in Figure 65) that is not yet present in the sketch in Figure 63.

Inversion In the sketches immediately following the formulation of the subject with continuation in eighth-note duplets and broken chords (see Figure 29), Beethoven made an attempt with the same rhythmic solution for the subject inversion. These sketches must have been unsatisfactory (note the words "Zu sanieren" in Figure 66, stave 11), probably because of the tonal instability caused by the broken chords, which led the subject from F major to g minor and thus would have shifted the alternation between dominant and tonic contained in the second part of the subject to a different tonal area from that of the beginning.[76] On stave 12 (Figure 66), an alternative shaping of the

74 Another sketch with canonic entries of the new countersubject in the upper voices combined with the first subject in the bass is in A 44, fol. 3r, st. 1–4. The sketch is in B♭ major.

75 The sketch A 44, fol. 3r, st. 12, like the other leaves of the manuscript PL-Kj Mendelssohn 2 originally belonging to A 44, is very difficult to read. In particular, it is problematic that the initial *e* is expressly written as a flat, which in the tonal context appears to be superfluous. It is well known how rarely Beethoven wrote accidentals, expressly indicating them only when it was particularly important to stress their presence in the harmonic-tonal context of a sketch.

76 In the fugue of Op. 106, all complete subject statements – even those in inversion, augmentation, and retrograde forms – are tonally stable.

inversion is based on different triads: g minor and C major. Still, they are crossed out, most likely because of the octave interval *d6*–*d5* at bar 5, which caused too much distortion of the contour of the inverted theme compared with the original.

The harmonic-tonal problem emerging in the inversion was essentially determined by the configuration of the third scalar segment of the subject (bar 4), in these sketches still identical to the first two segments, and complicated by starting the inverted theme itself on pitches 6-4-3 of the scale. The modification of the melodic profile in the fourth measure of the subject (see Figure 28), together with the renunciation of the broken chords as its continuation, must have led to solving the problem.

Alongside the issues just mentioned, there was also the possibility, likewise technically problematic, of realising the first three notes of the subject inversion in a not-exactly-specular form, replacing the descending second with an ascending one, which is visible in the first two bars of Figure 67. This would have involved starting the scalar segments of the theme from the leading tone rather than from the dominant. Despite the deletion of the *e* in the second bar, the sketch actually realises this possibility, creating an evident modification of the original thematic profile by adding an interval of a third between the third and fourth notes. From the third bar the attempt was then discarded.

At stave 13, the same sketch fared no better (Figure 68), a sign that the aforementioned interval modification in the second bar must have again constituted a too-strong deformation of the original theme. On the same stave, immediately after the deletion, the sketch is rewritten keeping the first two notes on the same pitch (*c*, see bar 5), thus avoiding the alteration of the profile. The chromatic continuation in sixteenth notes (stave 14) corresponds to the realisation of the subject seen in Figure 38; however, it is not a proper inversion but rather a unique combination of the original theme and its contrary motion: the ascending chromatic line comes from the original, and the last quadruplet in sixteenth notes is in inversion. On the basis of this quadruplet, the sketch can be fully interpreted in the key of C major, a key no longer used in the fugue. On the whole, Beethoven takes considerable licence in these experiments with the inversion, which would have compromised the rigour of the contrapuntal procedures and the recognisability of the thematic profile.

In the sketches dedicated to the inversion, Beethoven also tries the double inversion of subject and countersubject (Figure 69), a possibility that in the composition is exploited only for the inversion in G major in bars 208–213. In Autograph 58 (page 2, stave 13–16), we even find the inversion of the subject enriched by a hint of a canon of the inverted countersubject with itself (Figure 70).

The combination of the sixteenth notes from the subject in original and contrary motion in Grasnick 20b appears at bars 184–189 of the fugue, but in this tonal context, b♭ minor, the sketch was of no use (Figure 71).

Figure 66 D-BNba Mh 94, fol. 2v, st. 11/12

Figure 67 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 3, st. 1/2

Figure 68 US-Wc ML30.8b.B4, p. 3, st. 13

Figure 69 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 4v, st. 10

Figure 70 D-B Autograph 58, p. 2, st. 13/14 and 16

Figure 71 D-B Grasnick 20b, fol. 12r, st. 1/2

Figure 72 D-B Grasnick 20b, fol. 7r, st. 12–15

The sketch on leaf 7r of Grasnick 20b (Figure 72) contains the same stretto on the sixteenth-note material with a continuation not far from the material in bars 294–307 (but in E♭ major instead of F major). The sketch was initially conceived as a double inversion of the subject at a distance of an ascending sixth (bar 1/2), but the first two bars were immediately crossed out and replaced in the bass line by the subject in original form.

Retrograde The sketches dedicated to the retrograde and the augmentation of the subject are preserved in smaller quantity than those for the inversion and the stretti. In the manuscript US-Wc, the retrograde is based on one of the early formulations of the subject contained in US-PRscheide 132 (Figure 38), where it is characterised by broken chords and chromatic movement (Figure 73). While the configuration of the retrograde of the original did not cause problems, this was not true for the inversion of the retrograde. After some uncertainties regarding the correct height of the scalar segments (Figure 74, stave 8, bars 5–7; stave 9, bar 8), the head of the theme was also crossed out. After the double bar line, the problematic scalar segments are rewritten at a lower height, but this solution was also discarded. In both cases the problem probably laid in an unconvincing tonal connection between the first four bars and the second part of the retrograde (the part formed by the scale segments in sixteenth notes and the subject head), a problem

that appears to be caused by the use of only two scalar segments instead of the three intended in the final fugue theme. The omission caused, as one can easily guess, an ending on the subject's head a third higher (*e* – *f* – *a* instead of *c* – *d* – *f*). It is not sure if the *e* of bars 7 and 8 should be interpreted as natural, but if it were, the retrograde created in this way would actually have contained two segments not sufficiently connected to each other, the first one in B♭ major, the second tending toward a tonicisation of the dominant. On the contrary, as already observed, in the final version of the fugue all formulations of the subject and its contrapuntal transformations are tonally stable.[77]

In US-PRscheide 131, Beethoven wrote down the retrograde of the theme also in the diatonic formulation seen in Figure 37. As in the case of the subject in broken chords (Figure 73), this formulation does not contain corrections or deletions (Figure 75, stave 11). On stave 12 we find a hastily written sketch in pencil, the corresponding inversion of the retrograde, mirroring the movement of stave 11 and continuing with the descending scalar segments in an empty space of the same stave. Also in this case, the retrograde inversion seems to cause uncertainties in the creative process as well as to leave open questions for the scholar. At bars 2 and 3 of stave 12, after having crossed out a quadruplet of sixteenth notes (g – *f* – *e* – *f*), Beethoven opted for a different quadruplet, which is, however, a freer formulation compared to a symmetrical reproduction of the line of stave 11. The discarded quadruplet, if correctly interpreted in my transcription, would have led to a head of the theme on the notes *e* – *f* – *a*, which had already been rejected in the sketch in Figure 74.

In Landsberg 9 (Figure 76), and even more so in Grasnick 20b, we find the realisation of the retrograde subject closest to the final version of the original subject. Both sketches, notated in the fugue key B♭ major, also contain the countersubject in retrograde form, a combination that was not used in the composition.

77 On the other hand, if the *e* of bars 7/8 is intended to be flat, it is likely that the problem was the tritone *e*♭ – *a*. The tritone *b*♭ – *e*♮ in the fugue answer is not to be compared with the sequence *e*♭ – *f* – *a* in question here because, as a tonal answer, it falls within the rules of contrapuntal writing. The tritone caused by the *e*♭ – *f* – *a* succession is instead a question of melodic elegance: throughout the fugue, Beethoven does not use such a succession of pitches. Assuming that the two scalar segments rewritten at stave 9 after the double bar line were implicitly meant to be preceded by another scalar segment starting from *c* (like at bar 7), the note with the function of dominant pedal in the first four bars (the repeated *f* in the sketch) would have been a *d*, which would have shifted the tonal sense of the entire phrase into the key of g minor. On the other hand, if Beethoven didn't actually intend to include a third scalar segment, the dominant pitch would have been *b*♭, and the tonal centre would have been E♭ major. In both cases, the aforementioned problem of poor tonal connection between the two segments of the subject in retrograde inversion would have occurred again.

FIGURE 73 US-WC ML30.8b.B4, p. 5, st. 1/2

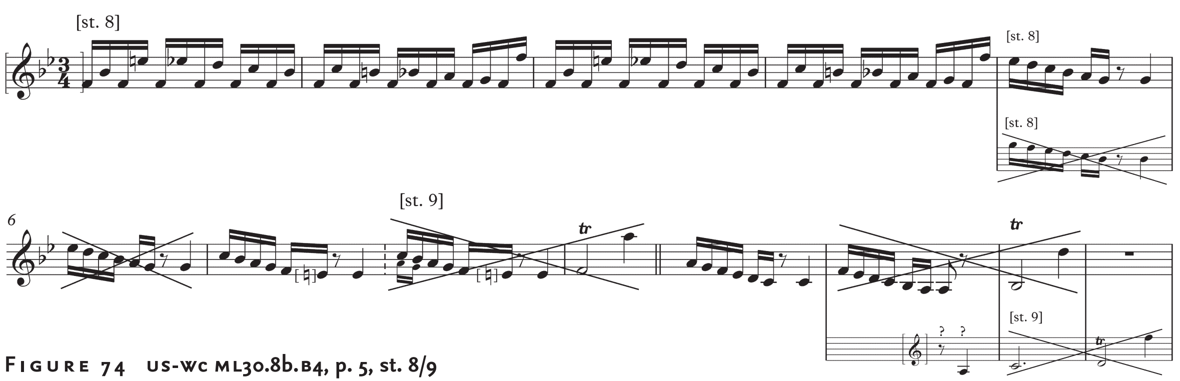


FIGURE 74 US-WC ML30.8b.B4, p. 5, st. 8/9

FIGURE 75 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 4v, st. 11/12

FIGURE 76 Landsberg 9, fol. 8r, st. 16

Figure 77 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 6v, st. 1/2

Only in manuscript A 44 do we find a sketch, very fragmentary and hardly legible, of the retrograde in the key actually used in the final version, b minor; it also includes a hint of the corresponding new countersubject (Figure 77, stave 2, upper voice). The entire section in b minor (bars 150–174 of the score), dedicated to the retrograde procedure, is actually among the parts of the fugue less documented in the preserved sketches.

Augmentation Sketches for the subject in augmentation are in the manuscripts A 45, Landsberg 9 and especially Grasnick 20b, which contains several attempts of augmentation in the tonic (Figures 78 and 79). In Landsberg 9, we find a sketch in c minor in which the augmentation continues with a progression modulating to b♭ minor (Figure 80). Thus, this sketch touches upon one of the two keys (the other being e♭ minor) that is actually used in the section of the fugue dedicated to augmentation. On the other hand, the sequence does not appear in that section, neither do the keys of c minor or B♭ major. On the whole, the sketches for the augmentation preserved today do not capture the whole evolution towards the final version of the corresponding section. In this case, is particularly evident that there must have been further sketches – now lost – that would have filled in these gaps.

Stretti Some of the sketches for the stretti were probably conceived by Beethoven not so much as elements destined from the first moment to have a specific structural role but as part of the immense reservoir of material aimed at exploring the contrapuntal potential inherent the subject.

In addition, there is a question to be kept in mind with respect to Beethoven's contrapuntal conception. In the fugue of Op. 106, Beethoven uses stretto in a much broader manner than that which was widespread in the context of academic counterpoint. The numerous theme head entrances closely scattered throughout the composition often play the modulating function that in an academic fugue is typical of the episodes. This happens because the head of the theme (containing the structurally essential trill), instead of being reserved only for full-subject statements, is used so often that it assumes a sort of omnipresence, thus minimising the difference between the subject statements them-

Figure 78 D-B Grasnick 20b, fol. 7r, st. 8/9

Figure 79 D-B Grasnick 20b, fol. 8r, st. 3–5, 11–14

Figure 80 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 5r, st. 2–6

selves and the episodes. Alongside the rigorous stretto entrances, implied by the counterpoint of the subject with itself or the subject with its inversion, we also find entrances which, while not presenting a real overlapping of the voices, follow one another at distance of only one bar and therefore have an effect similar to that of stretti. For this reason, the term "stretto" is meant here in a broad sense, referring to all such entrances, regardless of their position in the fugue. 'Stretto' entrances of this kind appear immediately after the fugue exposition (bars 47–52). It was probably after reflecting on this pertinacious 'omnipresence' of the subject that Beethoven, after writing down some sketches with stretto entrances (very similar to Figure 81), wrote the following words on folio 7v of A 44:

"auf durchgehende Harmonien indem die Stimmen unter sich spielen[d] das Thema gebracht [haben]".[78]

A stretto contained in Landsberg 9, page 2v, staves 15/16 (Figure 81) is identical to the sketch A 45, folio 6r, staves 8/9. On the harmonic level, the first two bars correspond to bars 359/360 of the composition, in which, however, we do not find the third stretto-entrance of the sketch (g – b♮ – c in the upper voice). At bars 361–364 the subject continues in its complete formulation, the last one of the fugue. A similar sketch is preserved in the manuscript D-B Autograph 58 (Figure 82). Following Beethoven's reference "Vi = de", the first two bars of this sketch have to be continued on stave 5 with the same full formulation of the subject that also appears in the final version at bars 359–364. It is probable that both aforementioned stretto sketches (Figures 81 and 82) were therefore conceived for the last complete thematic statement and that, for the first three bars, Beethoven considered plausible second entrances on the pitches b – d – e♭ and g – b♮ – c.

The sketch on folio 20v of A 45 (Figure 83), which reappears in an identical form in US-Wc (page 2, staves 1/2), presents a harmonic structure similar to bars 49–51 of the fugue, in which a sequence on the theme head leads to a new statement of the subject in D♭ major. It is possible that, in view of the drafting of the complete sequence, Beethoven wrote down only the two-bar pattern, fixing the imitation at the fourth d – g.

The stretto at the tonic in the first two bars of the following example (Figure 84) corresponds – albeit with a different rhythmic setting of the two voices – to bars 300/301 of the fugue. The second stretto entrance (bars 3/4), consisting of the subject in contrary motion and the answer, is used almost identically in bars 295/296. The context of the sketches preceding and following leaf 1v of A 44 shows how, at that time, Beethoven repeatedly experimented with stretti in the tonic-dominant relationship,[79] and how he wished to combine this kind of stretto with the new countersubject (Figure 85). This combination, however, was not used in the composition.

Many other stretto sketches did not find a place in the final version of the fugue. This is the case of sketch A 45, folio 30r (Figure 86), a stretto of the subject in inversion realised in chordal writing. The previous and subsequent sketches do not have a direct relationship with this stretto, which obviously makes it even more difficult to identify its possible

78 "On continuous harmonies, while the voices, overlapping, bear the theme". See A-Wgm A 44, fol. 7v, st. 12.

79 Stretto sketches built on the tonic-dominant relationship are found in A-Wgm A 44, fol. 1r, st. 11/12; fol. 4r, st. 4–9; fol. 6v, st. 5/6; fol. 7v, st. 4–9.

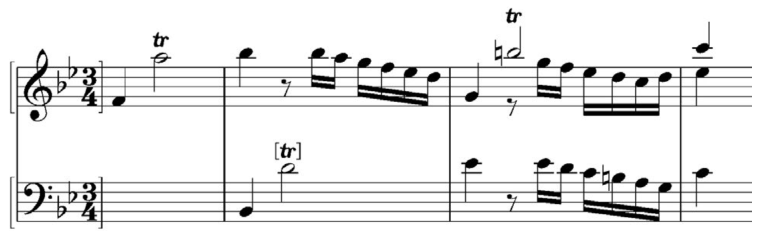


Figure 81 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 2v, st. 15/16 (identic to A-Wgm A 45, fol. 6r, st. 8/9)

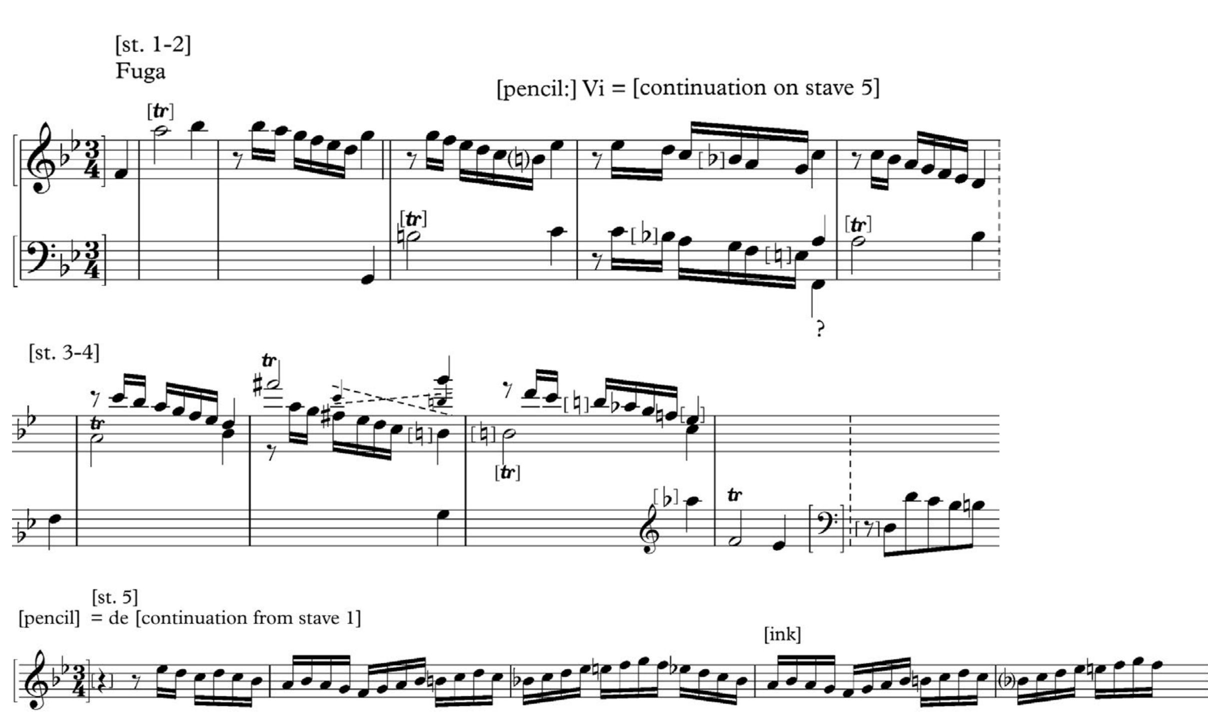


Figure 82 D-B Autograph 58, p. 2, st. 1–5

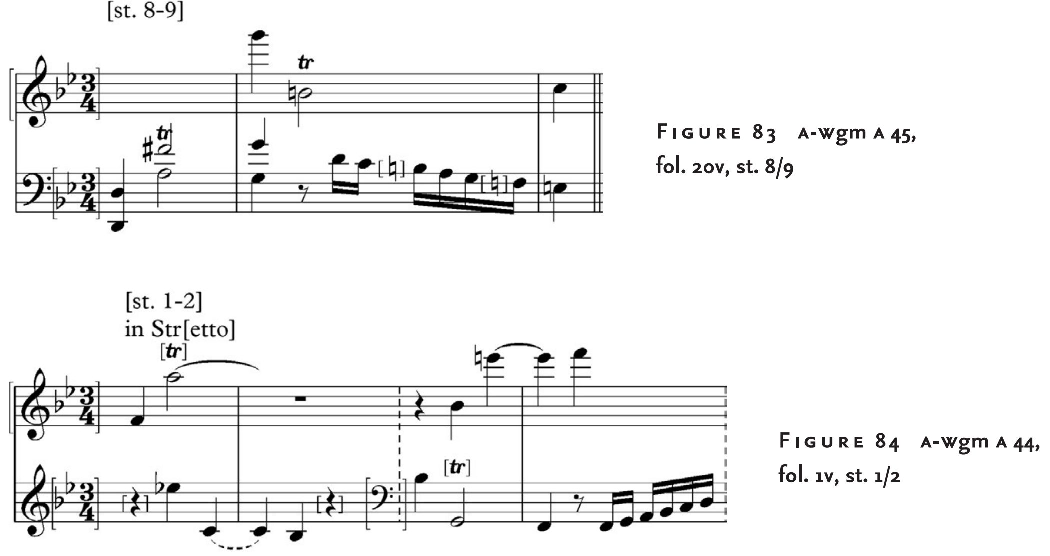


Figure 83 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 20v, st. 8/9

Figure 84 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 1v, st. 1/2

Figure 85 A-Wgm A 44, fol. 3r, st. 10/11

Figure 86 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 30r, st. 8/9

Figure 87 D-B Grasnick 20b, fol. 11r, st. 1–4

structural meaning.[80] However, the descending chromatic movement of the bass suggests a link with the sequence of bars 311–313.

The sketch of the manuscript Grasnick 20b (Figure 87), strictly speaking, is not a stretto, but the transcription has been given here in order to show one of the most intense expressions of the 'omnipresence' of the subject head, here used in a harmonic sequence centred on the subdominant and followed by an insistent percussion of the tonic in the

80 On the same folio 30r of A 45, immediately before the stretto, Beethoven copied some passages of the c-minor fugue BWV 871 from the second volume of Bach's *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*. The ink used to notate the stretto is much more intense than that of the copied passages from Bach, which indicates two distinct moments of writing.

bass line. Although the destination of this sketch remains uncertain, on the basis of these elements, it is reasonable to hypothesise that Beethoven intended to create a climax on the subject head before the double pedal point of bars 372–380.

Sequences, episodes In the paragraph dedicated to the concordances between manuscripts, I have already shown two examples taken from A 45 (Figures 4 and 5), the second of which is identical to a sketch contained in Landsberg 9 (folio 2v, staves 10–16). Both examples are sequences based on the head of the subject. In Landsberg 9 there are other sketches of this type, in which the central idea is the contrapuntal combination of two elements both taken from the fugue theme, namely the second and third notes of the subject and the scalar segments, used for building a modulating area. Sequences in conjunct motion on the head of the theme, similar but not identical to those of the example below (Figure 88), are used in bars 223–228 and 308–318 of the fugue, while the middle voice in eighth notes, proceeding in descending thirds, has been used in bars 200–203, although in a completely different tonal context.[81] The descending scalar segments are also part of some sketches for sequences in augmentation, such as that of Landsberg 9, folio 8r (Figure 89), or that of Mendelssohn 2, page 43 (Figure 90). Both these sketches, particularly that of Landsberg 9, suggest that Beethoven had it in mind, among the various possibilities, to also include in the fugue a section in b♭ minor. We have already seen how this key appears at the end of a sketch for the subject in augmentation in Landsberg 9 itself (Figure 80) as well as in the sketch preserved in Grasnick 20b (Figure 71), in which original and inversion are combined. Marston already noted the probable centrality of b♭ minor in early plans for the sonata, and these sketches provide further evidence that this tonality continued to occupy a non-marginal role, such as in the first two bars of staves 13/14 in Figure 91, in which the scale divided between the two staves and the trill prepare a cadenza in b♭ minor that has a certain structural weight. For the following bars Beethoven was maybe planning a new statement of the subject in the key just reached, or just to use that counterpoint between the original and the inversion contained in Grasnick 20b, folio 12r (Figure 71).

Another sequence based on the subject head is found on leaf 3r of Landsberg 9 (Figure 92) and arouses attention for the use of a voice that proceeds in descending fifths, which is almost absent in the rest of the sketches and never used in the composition. However, on folio 8r (Figure 93) of the same manuscript, it becomes clear that the line in

81 This voice in eighth notes is used at bars 200–203 in an ascending sequence between the subject statement in D major and the subject inversion in G major.

FIGURE 88 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 7v, st. 5/6

FIGURE 89 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 8r, st. 1/2

FIGURE 90 PL-Kj Mendelssohn 2, p. 43, st. 1

FIGURE 91 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 3r, st. 11–14

FIGURE 92 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 3r, st. 15/16

Figure 93 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 8r, st. 9/10

Figure 94 D-B Landsberg 9, fol. 4v, st. 10–14, fol. 5r, st. 1

descending fifths represented the possibility of a real alternative countersubject for a subject statement in b♭ minor.

In Landsberg 9 there is also a sketch intended for the realisation of episodes alternating with statements of the subject in augmentation (Figure 94). This is the only sketch known to me that shows a vague relationship with the fugue episodes of bars 85–92 and 130–138, even if the elements in common are only the not-explicitly thematic character and the single appearance of a rhythmic model consisting of a sixteenth pause and three sixteenth notes (Figure 94, stave 12), which, in the episodes of the composition, has been used systematically. This sketch continues with the augmented subject in the key of c minor already shown in Figure 80. In the final version of the fugue, the subject in augmentation is preceded and followed by the two aforementioned episodes of bars 85–92 and 130–138, but the idea of a real alternation between augmentation and episodes, as proposed in the sketch just seen (Figure 94), was no longer exploited. Even the keys of the augmented subject's statements (d minor and g minor) do not appear in the composition.

The transition to the fugue Since the transition to the fugue has a strong structural link with the conception of the subject, in particular to the sequence of descending thirds that characterises it and which is also at the centre of the sonata in its entirety, it seems more appropriate to analyse its genesis near the end of this paper. The first concept sketches[82] and continuity sketches for the introduction must have been drafted precisely at a time when the basic subject structure in descending thirds had become established, i. e., as A 45 shows, between April and May 1818.

The multiplicity of improvisational and polyphonic elements that constitute the transition make the task of the transcription – more than in other cases – open to several interpretations. In the transition, Beethoven seems to rethink the possibilities of the contrapuntal languages of the past and at the same time questions himself about the future ones. As William Kinderman observed, in the introduction "there is a search towards new compositional possibilities, with the clear implication that Baroque counterpoint is transcended by the creation of a new contrapuntal style embodied in the revolutionary fugal finale of the sonata."[83]

In the paragraph above concerning the genesis of the subject, I proposed to interpret a sketch of A 45 (Figure 16) as an idea for one of the elements of the transition to the fugue, an idea characterised by the motivic anticipation of the subject itself. In the following leaves of A 45, we find several concept sketches for the transition, destined to be further developed on leaves in desk format. On these leaves, even more than in the pocket sketches, the evolutionary stages of the transition are well documented.

The manuscript Scheide 132 contains four attempts. In the first one (Figure 95), the opening *f* pedal point is conceived in a totally different form compared to the broken octaves of the final version. The chain of descending thirds is present as well as the polyphonic passage in G♭ major. Far from its final formulation is the passage in B major (in the score *Un poco più vivace*), with which the sketch is interrupted. Some verbal notes are included. In the first, the word "prelu[de]" is erased and replaced by "Einleit[ung]". On the first sequence of descending notes (staves 10/11), the indication "Introduktion bis" connects to the following "alsdann", that is, to the point where the chain of descending thirds leads towards the flat keys.[84] The mark "X" seems to be a reminder that the passage

82 The term "concept sketches" means sketches for a movement or a section in abbreviated form, including key, time, and brief references to thematic materials, sometimes with some explanatory words. See Cooper: *Beethoven and the Creative Process*, Oxford 1992, p. 104.

83 Kinderman: Bachian Affinities in Beethoven, p. 95. See also Martin Zenck: *Die Bach-Rezeption des späten Beethoven*, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 199–218.

84 Chae reads "Introduction in G-Dur" and hypothesises that this introduction was written in the sketch MH 93. However, the correct reading seems to me precisely "Introduktion bis", as proposed here;

FIGURE 95 US-PRscheide 132, fol. 1r, st. 7–13

FIGURE 96 US-PRscheide 132, fol. 1r, st. 14–16

between both these verbal notes was still to be written out. The quarter notes on stave 11, for example, were probably intended to be realised in sixteenth notes like at the beginning of staves 10/11.

A second sketch on leaf 1r (Figure 96), marked “meilleur” (as was the previous sketch), presents a reconfiguration of the initial ascending passage (which will be discarded) and introduces the broken octaves that begin the transition in the final version. The broken octaves are confirmed on leaf 1v (Figure 97), in which the broken triads with which the sketch of leaf 1r (Figure 96) begins are now shifted towards two later moments. The first time, the broken triads appear in the key of G♭ major after the first segment of descending thirds in the bass; as shown by the mark “Vi = de”, once discarded, they were replaced by the polyphonic passage in the same key taken from the previous sketch and varied. By the second attempt (“oder”, staves 7/8), the broken triads are notated in a♭ minor. Again

furthermore, the tonal context of the whole sketch does not present any hints or relations with the key of G major. See Chae: *Beethoven’s Sketches for the Piano Sonata Opus 106*, p. 125.

Figure 97 US-PRscheide 132, fol. 1v, st. 2–8 and 10–16

crossed out, they should have led to the area of g♯ minor by means of the enharmony on the pitch *e*♭ / *d*♯ (stave 7). For this tonal area Beethoven notated a melodic line on stave 16 that will never be picked up again. The future B major area remains equally undefined, also reached enharmonically through the descent of thirds g♭ – *e*♭ – c♭ (stave 5), but Beethoven ultimately steers away from it (through the pitches d♭ and g♭ at the bass) and follows up with scales presumably in the key of D♭ major (stave 6). A possible alternative to this discarded passage can be found in the thirty-second notes in C♭ major of stave 10. As can be seen, while the polyphonic passage in G♭ gradually approaches the final version, the section *Un poco più vivace* seems to be the most uncertain area, oscillating between conceptions in various keys and undergoing several modifications in the melodic profile.

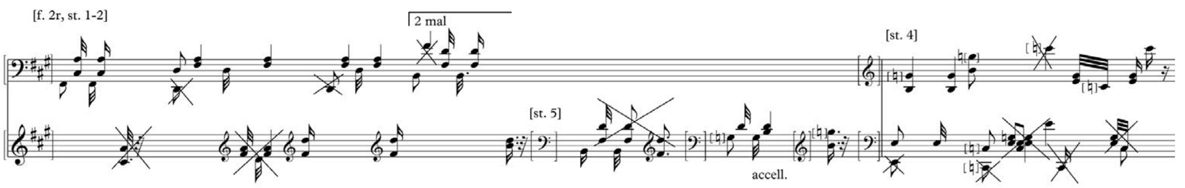
In the continuation of the sketch on leaves 2r and 2v (Figure 98), we can see that, at this stage of the transition, the pedal point *a* should be followed by an equally extended pedal on the dominant of the fugue, f, which would have had a particularly atmospheric sonority in the combination of pedal notes in the extreme bass region and chords in the centre of the keyboard (Figure 98, folio 2v, staves 1–5).[85]

The idea of the f pedal is sketched out two more times in Autograph 54 (both in Figure 99). At leaf 1r, staves 3/4, the pedal of f, although not written, can be deduced from the presence of the dissonances in quarter notes, similar to those of Scheide 132 (Figure 98), and from the connected dissonant chord in whole note before the scales and the beginning of the fugue. In the second sketch (Figure 99, folio 1r, staves 6–10), the pedal point f, now explicitly written, develops in a similar way to that seen in Scheide 132, but, unlike what was sketched in stave 4, the scales immediately preceding the fugue theme are again limited to a single bar.

The sketches for the transition to the fugue contained in A 45, due to their often very shorthand writing, are to be read differently than the desk sketches of the transition. Some ideas presented in these concept sketches do not appear in the extant desk format leaves nor have they been developed in the composition, but others appear in a form not far from the final version. This is the case of leaf 27r in A 45. As shown in Figure 100, the f pedal point, the areas of G♭ major and of B major as well as the polyphony in g♯ minor are all elements later included in the final version; on the other hand, at the beginning of the sketch (staves 1 and 2), there is an improvisational passage in sixteenth notes that will not be used, which appears to be immediately connected with the f pedal point (staves 2 and 4).

In the sketch on leaf 29r (Figure 101), we note how the two polyphonic areas in G♭ major and g♯ minor, although also only partially outlined here, have assumed a profile

85 In my opinion, the right reading order of the eight images of US-PRscheide 132 is the following: 1 (fol. 1r), 2 (1v), 7 (2r), 8 (2v), 5 (3r), 6 (3v), 3 (4r), 4 (4v).



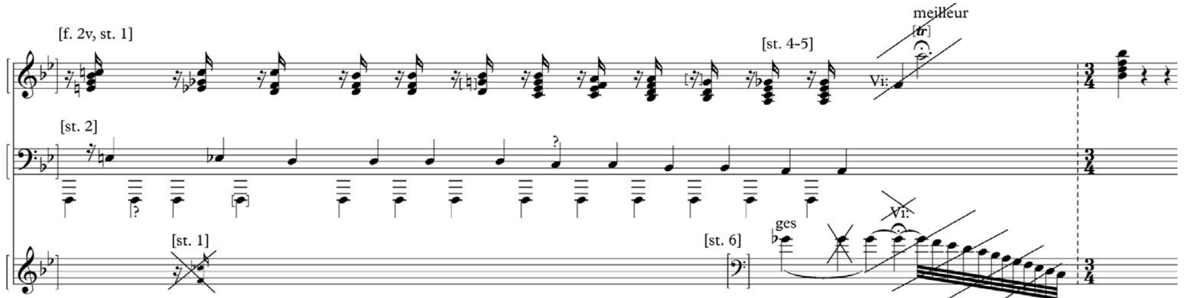


Figure 98 US-PRscheide 132, fol. 2r, st. 1–15 and 7/8, fol. 2v, st. 1–6

FIGURE 99 Autograph 54, fol. 1r, st. 3–10

FIGURE 100 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 27r

practically identical to the corresponding passages in the composition. But here, too, there is an element that will not be used (but which is present in another form in Autograph 54, Scheide 132 and Mh 94):[86] the last four bars before the beginning of the fugue, consisting of repeated scales (staves 8 and 9). Instead of occupying the last position of the sketch, they are curiously notated between the two mentioned polyphonic areas in G♭ major and g♯ minor.[87]

The manuscript Scheide 131 is made up of leaves of different paper and used by Beethoven at different times. Leaf 1 contains the draft of the transition to the fugue closest to the final version. The passages still to be defined are the continuations of three sections: the ending of the section in B major on the dominant, instead of which we find a scalar movement without rhythmic values (Figure 102, folio 1r, stave 5); the final bars of the area in g♯ minor, crossed out two times and not followed by the descending thirds in the bass (Figure 102, folio 1v, staves 1/2); and finally, the pedal point *a* (*Prestissimo* in the score), still absent. While in A 45, folio 18r, the interval of the descending fourth *d* – *a* in the bass, as in the final version, interrupts the chain of descending thirds leading to the pedal point *a*, explicitly indicated as "Orgelpunkt", here the movement of descending thirds continues with the notes *d* – b♭ – g, suggesting that Beethoven still favoured the use of the *f* pedal point (Figure 102, folio 1v, staves 7/8). However, unlike the sketches seen in Scheide 132 and Autograph 54, Scheide 131 breaks off before the pedal point.

Assuming the dating of the fragment Autograph 54 proposed in the catalogue entry of the manuscript (summer/fall 1818), one would be led to think that, even at the end of summer or the beginning of fall, Beethoven had not yet abandoned the idea of connecting the transition and the fugue subject with an extended *f* pedal point. However, on the first staves of Autograph 54, there is a formulation of the continuation of the subject still in broken bichords, a form that in fall 1818 must have been rejected, as can be seen in Autograph 58, also dated summer/fall 1818 (see Figure 40). In A 45 and A 44, whose dating between April and August 1818 is beyond question, the idea of the *f* pedal point is abandoned; the *a* pedal point, in addition to appearing on folio 18r of A 45, is also found in A 44 (folio 6v, staves 7/8). Furthermore, the other elements seen in A 45 must be kept in mind, such as the polyphonic areas of G♭ major and g♯ minor that are at a stage close to the final version. Due to the very advanced form of the transition seen in Scheide 131, leaf 1 of this manuscript is certainly to be dated later than A 45 and A 44, probably fall 1818. Based on all these considerations, it seems convenient to propose for Autograph 54 a backdating to summer 1818 instead of summer/fall 1818. Thus, the chronological order

86 D-B Autograph 54: fol. 1r, st. 3–5; US-PRscheide 132: p. 5, st. 15/16, p. 8, st. 5–7; D-BNba Mh 94: fol. 1r, st. 9.

87 In this sketch it becomes clear that in A 45, the individual structural elements of the transition to the fugue are sometimes sketched in an order that does not correspond to that of the composition.

FIGURE 101 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 29r, st. 1–11

of the genesis of the transition could be the following: first Scheide 132 (May/June 1818) and Autograph 54 (summer 1818), followed by the last parts of the pocket sketchbooks A 45 (April or Mid-May to June or July 1818) and 44 (July/August 1818), and finally by Scheide 131 (summer/fall 1818).

Open questions Before drawing some conclusions, it seems appropriate, if not even indispensable, to show here some of the sketches which pose difficult questions. They appear scarcely related – or apparently even unrelated – to the last movement of the sonata

[st. 1-2]
[pencil]
[ink]
[st. 3-4]
[ink]
[st. 5-6]
[pencil]
[ink]
[st. 7-8]
[pencil]
[pencil]
[pencil]
[ink]
[pencil]
[f. 1v, st. 1-2]
[pencil]
[ink]
[ink]
[pencil]
[st. 3-4]

FIGURE 102 US-PRscheide 131, fol. 1r, st. 1–8, fol. 1v, st. 1–8

and to the other sketches; in other cases they suggest the need for further study on the relationship between the genesis of the fugue of Op. 106 and Bach's *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*.

In manuscript A 45, folio 16v, Beethoven notated two subjects in C major, adding the explicit notation "Fuga" to both sketches. Compared to the other sketches for the subject, the total diversity of conception stands out. And, apart from the key of C major, the two sketches have no other common elements between them (Figures 103 and 104).

Nottebohm's transcriptions from the *Boldrini* manuscript show that, in the early stages of the creative process, Beethoven notated sketches for subjects with a very different form from the final one. Nevertheless, if it were not for the indication "Fuga", the second of the two sketches below (Figure 104) does not really seem to possess the character of a fugal theme, at least if put in relation to the articulation and extension of the sketch that precedes it (Figure 103) and also to the other sketches for the subject.

Immediately after this sketch, Beethoven notated in pencil the subject in a form still far from the final one but in B♭ major and including the first three notes and the trill on the second note that are maintained in the final version. After that follows – still in pencil – the sketch already shown in Figure 24. As can be seen, between the two sketches in C major and the following ones (like those of the next leaf 17r, all including the initial tenth leap), the difference in content is considerable. For this reason, it is conceivable that a certain amount of time has elapsed between the sketches for the subjects in C major and what follows in B♭ major.

On the first leaf of Scheide 132, we find a sketch expressly called by Beethoven "Ballo" and preceded by the reference "= de" (Figure 105). The corresponding mark "Vi =" is

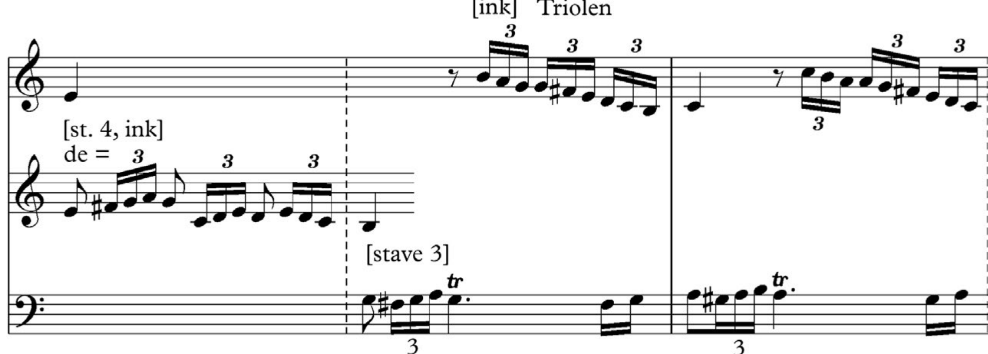


Figure 103 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 16v, st. 1–4

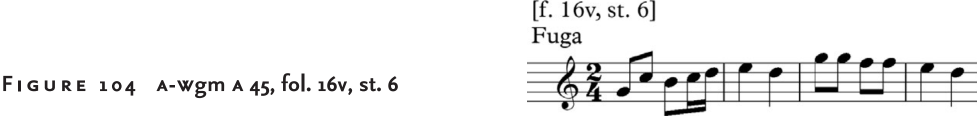


Figure 104 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 16v, st. 6

untraceable. The following sketches, pertaining to the transition to the fugue (Figure 95), do not have any relationship with this short idea. From the sketches contained on A 45, leaf 25r, it can be deduced with certainty that, in May 1818, the metre, melodic contours and general form of the Scherzo were by now defined, even though the movement was not completely concluded. Therefore, it seems unlikely to hypothesise that the "Ballo" was an idea for the Scherzo that ultimately was not used. As shown in the transcription (Figure 105), the sketch is in binary metre, and the melodic line has nothing to do with the final version of the second movement. Thus, having no correspondence with other materials, this sketch remains, at least to the best of my knowledge, a sort of enigma. Perhaps the "Ballo" was not a sketch for Op. 106.

Another open question is represented by the sketch on leaf 1v of the manuscript US-Wc, which is a non-literal transcription in desk format of the sketch on A 45, folio 21r. As can be seen in the example (Figure 106), the accidentals noted by Beethoven suggest a tonal path centred on the keys of B major and E major followed by d minor in the last four bars, in which the trill from the subject head is distributed among the three voices. In the final version, the material of this sketch was not used, and apart from A 45, in the remaining sketches there are no further concordances. The only moment of the fugue that appears related to this sketch is bar 149, after which the section with the retrograde

Figure 105 US-PRscheide 132, p. 1, st. 1

Figure 106 US-WC, fol. 1v, st. 1–6

subject begins. Since this very short affinity is too vague, it is difficult to give the sketch an adequate contextualisation: did Beethoven intend to compose a section of a certain extent in the tonal region of the sharps, before the entrance of the retrograde subject? If this were the case, however, the area of d minor would pose the question of the tonal connection with the key of the retrograde subject, b minor, assuming that, at that time, the key for this section had already been established. As seen above, a very brief sketch of the retrograde in b minor is found in the later A 44 (Figure 77), while the other sketches of the retrograde are in B♭ major.

Finally, it appears essential to show a further copy of a fragment of Bach on leaf 30v of A 45. As can be seen in the transcription below (Figure 107), Beethoven notated in pencil

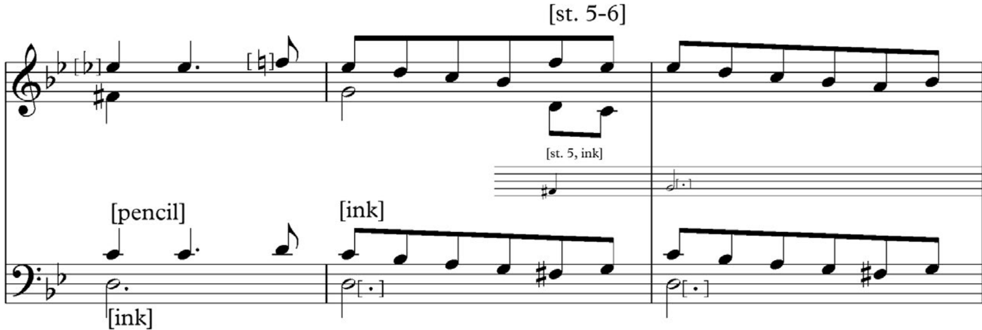


Figure 107 A-Wgm A 45, fol. 30v, st. 1/2

the subject of the fugue in c minor (BWV 871) from the second book of *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*, immediately followed by a three-part sketch on the countersubject of the fugue of Op. 106 in g minor, first written in pencil, then traced over in ink. The contiguity between Bach's subject and the following sketch is graphically evident. Beethoven left the subject of the c-minor fugue in pencil, unlike the rest, since it, of course, was not part of the sketch; at the same time, the annotation of Bach's theme must have served as a creative stimulus for the following bars. The scalar segment in sixteenth notes in the second bar shows an analogy with the descending line of the voice in the second bar of Bach's fugue. And the complementary rhythmic figuration of the two upper voices in the third bar appears to reproduce that of bars 8/9 of the c-minor fugue, a figuration that also appears in bars 197–199 of the fugue in Op. 106. However, beyond the motivic and rhythmic affinities, what I would like to emphasise is that this sketch originated directly from Bach's material and that Beethoven needed to set this material down on paper in order to bring it into his creative process.

Conclusions The complex of sketches studied for this contribution gives evidence of a significant change in the conception of the fugue for the *Hammerklavier* sonata, a change that occurred gradually during the compositional process. This mutation began with the drafting of the subject and inevitably involved the sketches for the countersubject as well as those of greater extension, like the continuity drafts for the fugue exposition. It consists

of the transition from a diatonic conception of the subject's motivic substance to a chromatic one. The piano writing consequently underwent a change too, evident in the transition from the broken chords of the subject continuation to the less idiomatic and more 'abstract' chromatic line.

The chromaticism reached in the definitive subject line led, in turn, to a greater rhythmic complexity, which developed starting from eighth notes, then changing into eighth-note triplets and finally reaching sixteenth notes. While the subject underwent this process of rhythmic complication, the opposite happened for the first countersubject, whose initially planned dotted rhythms were abandoned. The continuity drafts for the fugue exposition show how the first attempts with extended compositional sections began when the subject and the first countersubject had not yet reached the final shape.

In the sketches for the subject and the countersubject, it was also possible to observe the 'migration' of motivic segments, which changed position within the subject itself or flowed from the subject to the countersubject. The last phenomenon is linked to the fact that subject and countersubject are both based on the deep structure of descending thirds analysed by several scholars.[88] Both subject and countersubject reveal a singular harmonic compatibility with the theme of the fugue in B♭ major (BWV 890) from the second book of Bach's *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*. Beethoven copied a fragment from the answer of this fugue in Scheide 131; this suggests that Bach's composition may have played a non-negligible role in the conception of the subject and the countersubject with an implicit structure of descending thirds.

The second, chorale-like subject (which later becomes a new countersubject marked *Sempre dolce cantabile* from bar 250) was initially conceived in the relative minor of the tonic key, i. e. in g minor, responding to a much more traditional conception of tonal relations than that achieved in the composition, in which the chorale theme starts in D major.

The attempts at contrapuntally combining this theme with the first subject were originally even more ambitious than what was ultimately realised in the composition, both in terms of complexity and potential extension. This can indeed be said of all the preparatory sketches for the contrapuntal devices that could have been achieved in the fugue. The countless sketches for the retrograde, the augmentation and above all the inversion of the thematic materials show an aspiration to embrace all the practicable possibilities, some of which remained unrealised: a sort of 'inventory' from which Beethoven intended to make selections in his compositional process.

88 Dietrich Kämper: Klaviersonate B-Dur "Hammerklaviersonate" op. 106, in: *Beethoven. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. by Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dalhaus, Alexander L. Ringer, Laaber 1994, Vol. 2, pp. 136–149, here pp. 144 f.

Alongside the initial role of the key of g minor, that of b♭ minor was originally intended to have a significant function, not only with regard to the first ideas for the fugue subject, as observed by Nottebohm and Marston, but also for eventual statements of the latter in augmentation, in inversion, and in combination with an alternative countersubject line that would not be used, thus for the development of the fugue.

The sketches of the transition to the fugue revealed a particularly complex evolutionary process. In these concluding notes it may be useful to recall the chronological order of the sketches for this section proposed above: first Scheide 132 and Autograph 54, then the pocket sketchbooks A 45 and 44, and finally Scheide 131.

The gradual achievement of an innovative contrapuntal writing, intended as a stylistic synthesis of languages that were originally independent from each other; the affirmation of a decidedly more daring harmony than that of the first, more conventional sketches for the fugue; the liberation of the piano writing from worn-out idiomatic formulas: all these moments inherent in the genesis of the last movement of the Sonata Op. 106 are the manifestation of a process of musical creation clearly described by Bernard Appel: "The composer finds himself in a double discourse in the creative process, which is conducted in a circular or parallel manner. On the one hand, he deals with his own structural specifications and, on the other hand, with internalised rule systems."[89] In the case of the fugue of Opus 106, it is clear that the "internalised rule system" played a dominant role in the first creative phase and then gave way more and more intensely to his "own structural specifications", thanks to which the composition, together with Beethoven's last three piano sonatas and the last quartets, gives life to a previously unexplored contrapuntal language.

89 "[D]er Komponist [befindet sich] im Schaffensprozeß in einem doppelten Diskurs, der zirkulär bzw. parallel geführt wird. Einerseits setzt er sich mit seinen eigenen Strukturvorgaben und andererseits zugleich mit internalisierten Regelsystemen auseinander." Appel: Sechs Thesen, p. 121. On this topic see also Geraint A. Wiggins: Defining Inspiration? Modelling the Non-Conscious Creative Process, in: *The Act of Musical Composition. Studies in the Creative Process*, ed. by Dave Collins, London/New York 2016, pp. 228–249.

Claudio Bacciagaluppi

Hans Georg Nägeli as Publisher and Bookseller of Piano Music

1. Introduction Hans Georg Nägeli is best known to Beethoven scholars for having published the first edition of the three sonatas Op. 31 in his series "Répertoire des clavecinistes". In fact, he is mostly remembered for the editions' many errors as there had been no proofreading. The most unfortunate incident happened on the final page of the first movement of Op. 31/1, where Nägeli felt the need to add four spurious bars. His aim was to provide a tonic response to the unanswered dominant question immediately preceding; in other words, he was correcting a reputed mistake by Beethoven.[1] When Ferdinand Ries played the sonata from the freshly printed edition, Beethoven reportedly reacted with the memorable words: "Damn it, where is that written?"[2]

Martin Staehelin reproduced a copy from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 16070) where the four measures are cancelled.[3] Still, many copies of the Nägeli edition do not contain the pen strokes (e.g., the copies in A-Wn, CH-Zz, D-BNba). These uncorrected copies must have been part of the very first issue, or else we should have to conclude that the correction was not added systematically by the publisher. In at least one copy of a far less famous composition, a capriccio by Bonifacio Asioli printed in 1803, there is also one crossed-out measure (see Figure 1). Notice that this copy comes from the publishing firm's own archive. Possibly a similar incident had happened?

As a publisher, Nägeli quite often discussed compositional issues with the authors he was corresponding with. He suggested improvements to or set precise requirements for Václav Tomášek, Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse and Carl Czerny for works that he eventually published, and he downright refused to publish works by E. T. A. Hoffmann, though the composer repeatedly submitted them.[4] In replying by proxy to a Leipzig bookseller, Nägeli made a brief sketch of himself as a music publisher as early as 1794:

1 The rationale for the correction was pointed out by Martin Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven. Der Zürcher Musiker, Musikverleger und Musikschriftsteller in seinen Beziehungen zu dem grossen Komponisten*, Zurich 1982, p. 29.

2 "Wo steht das, zum Teufel?" The whole episode is described in Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, pp. 88 f.

3 Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven*, p. 28.

4 Max Ernst Unger: Vom Musikverleger H. G. Nägeli, in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 63 (1923), pp. 193 f., 209 f., 225 f., here pp. 225 f.; Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven*, pp. 28 f.

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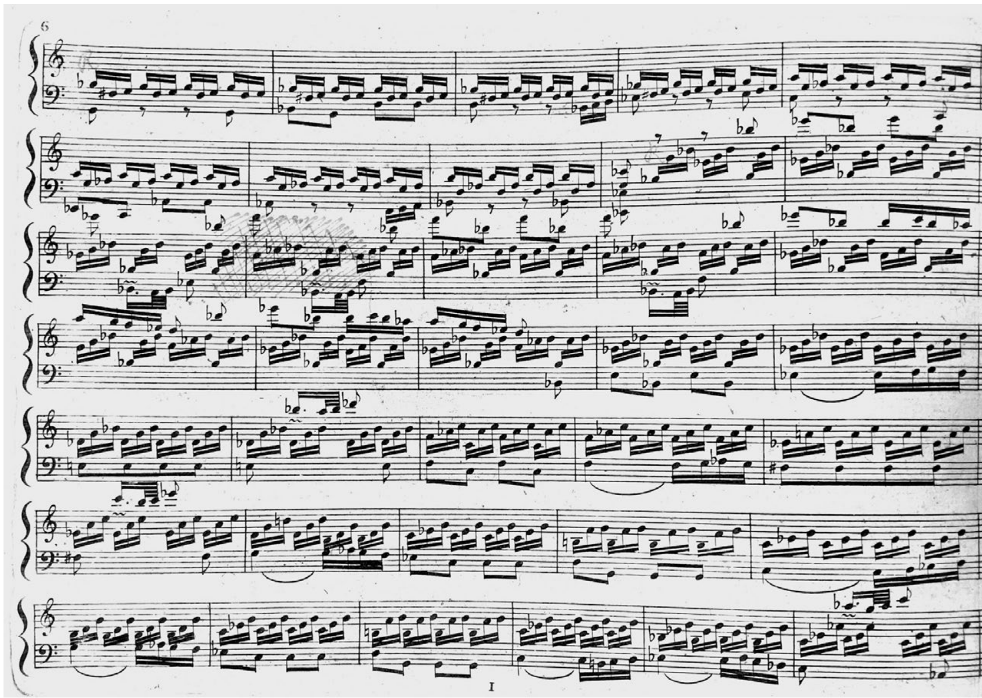

Figure 1 **Bonifacio Asioli: *Capriccio per il Piano Forte* Op. 1, Zürich: Hans Georg Nägeli [1803], p. 6. CH-Zsta VII.300:1 Schachtel 8 Mappe 11**

> "Tell him I'm about to produce myself as a composer; I'm strict with myself and shall never publish something bad; I'm corresponding with the best composers; I only accept masterpieces in my publishing house".[5]

This is a quite remarkable display of self-consciousness for a 21-year old from the Swiss province. Nägeli, in a word, had a mission: he saw himself as more than a "Notenkrämer" – a mere merchant – and placed the progress of art above his monetary advantage.[6] Contemporaries thought the same, e. g., the German journalist Carl Friedrich Cramer, who met him in Paris early in 1807:

5 "Sag ihm ich seÿ im Begriff als Componist aufzutreten; ich seÿ streng gegen mich selbst und werde nie etwas schlechtes herausgeben; ich stehe mit den besten Componisten in Verbindung; ich übernehme nur Meisterstüke in meinen Verlag". Nägeli to Johann Jakob Horner in Leipzig, Zurich, 10 December 1794, CH-Zz Ms M 8.39. All quotations from Nägeli's correspondence preserve the original spelling and punctuation, even if it does not respect present-day rules. English translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

6 Miriam Roner quotes several letters in which Nägeli uses this disparaging term, see Miriam Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis. Hans Georg Nägelis Theorie der Musik*, Stuttgart 2020 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, Vol. 84), pp. 148 f.

> "It was a vivid pleasure to meet you personally; at last I met a man who does not only as a simple merchant practice usury on music; […] but one who is himself an artist and possesses judgement and discernment in his head and heart; and belongs to the […] knowledgeable judges and critics."[7]

It was his sense of a calling in the service of art that gave him the confidence to intervene in the work of even the most reputed masters of his time.

The work and the relevance of Hans Georg Nägeli have recently received renewed attention – starting with the re-ordering of his *Nachlass* in the University of Zurich library in 2005 –, and the 250th anniversary of his birth in 2023 has stimulated further research.[8] In the present article I will briefly introduce Nägeli, examine his catalogues as a bookseller and his series of publications dedicated to the piano repertoire, and conclude by pointing out the 'Swissness' of Nägeli's endeavours.

2. Nägeli's multiple talents Nägeli was a quite exceptional person and pursued vastly different, though interrelated, activities.[9] He opened a lending library; published music; composed (mostly vocal and choral music); was a music pedagogue and a music critic; wrote on the aesthetics of music; and, finally, was also a politician in his later years. He grew up as a pastor's son in Wetzikon, a town in canton Zurich. Aged 17 he moved to Zurich and the next year opened a lending music library in Augustinergasse No. 24. In the 1790s he began composing, at first lieder, later also instrumental and choral music. In his thirties he developed a keen interest in pedagogy. In 1805 he founded the Zürcherisches Sing-Institut, an amateur mixed choir after the model of the Berliner Sing-Akademie.[10] From 1808 he composed more and more, especially for choir, here again

7 "Nicht ohne lebhaftes Vergnügen habe ich Ihre persönliche Bekanntschaft gemacht; weil an Ihnen mir endlich ein Mann begegnet ist, der nicht wie ein blos gewöhnlicher Crämer mit Musik Wucher treibt; […] sondern einer, der in dem Gegenstand seines Gewerbes selbst Künstler und in dieser Kunst Urtheil und Unterscheidung in seinem Kopf und Herzen besitzt; und zu den kenntnisvollen […] Richtern und Critikern gehört." [Carl Friedrich] Cramer to Nägeli, Paris, 14 January 1807, CH-Zz Ms Car. XV 186.9.

8 See Katharina Müller: *Nachlassverzeichnis Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836)*, Zurich 2005; Thomas Kabisch: Hans Georg Nägelis Theorie instrumentaler Virtuosität, in: *Schweizer Jahrbuch Für Musikwissenschaft* 34/35 (2014), pp. 109–145; Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*. I would like to thank Miriam Roner for sharing with me an early version of her seminal Nägeli book. The results of Martin Staehelin's life-long study of Nägeli could unfortunately not yet be consulted for the present article. See Martin Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli (1773–1836). Einsichten in Leben und Werk*, Basel 2023.

9 For his biography see the summary table in Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 362–371, and Andrea Schmid: *Hans Georg Nägeli. Komponist, Verleger, Musikmensch*, Wetzikon 2021. On his political commitment see Louis Delpech: *Revolution und Geschichte. Hans Georg Nägeli und die demokratische Muse*, Winterthur 2023 (Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich, Vol. 207).

10 Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven*, pp. 12 f.; Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 163–214.

following the much-admired Carl Friedrich Zelter, a collection of whose lieder he later published.[11] These endeavours are connected with his pedagogical goals. In 1810 he published the *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* together with Michael Traugott Pfeiffer (as the first volume of his *Vollständige und ausführliche Gesangschule*).[12]

For my present scope, it is important to stress the interest that Nägeli showed from the very start of his career in the aesthetic value of instrumental music. Already in 1795, he had written to his friend Johann Jakob Horner:

> "You say, music without poetry is like a hieroglyph, an often very nice script but whose meaning we seldom guess. Certainly; but this is not about guessing anything, and in my eyes instrumental music has no lesser value because it cannot be reduced to concepts or elevated to science as poetry can be."[13]

In a manuscript dating from 1796–1799, possibly in preparation for a lecture, to which the title "Über die Musik" was later added, he attempted writing down his already astonishingly mature thoughts, but apparently he felt they were not yet ready for publication.[14] A few years later, in 1799, he wrote to Philipp Albert Stapfer, who at the time, as Minister for Science and Arts of the revolutionary Helvetic Republic, was planning a reform of education and had founded a "Bureau für Nationalkultur":

> "I have a full-fledged theory, and just need exercise in writing to argue for the essence and worth of music as art in itself (of instrumental music, which many only admire but most people disregard as something confusing), to prove its suitability for aesthetic education, as a versatile occupation and for development of strength, for the simultaneous increase of the feeling for life and intellectual activity and thus to win several and more participating followers among the class of philosophers (especially educators)".[15]

11 Carl Friedrich Zelter: *Neue Liedersammlung*, Zurich 1821. Many Nägeli editions are available online on the e-rara platform for digitised rare books, www.e-rara.ch (all links last consulted in March 2022).

12 Michael Traugott Pfeiffer/Hans Georg Nägeli: *Vollständige und ausführliche Gesangschule*, Zurich 1810.

13 "Du sagst Musik ohne Poesie sei eine Hyeroglyph, eine Schrift oft mit schönen zügen, deren Inhalt man aber selten errathe. Freÿlich; aber es ist hier gar nicht ums errathen zu thun, und die Instrumentalmusik hat des wegen in meinen Augen keinen geringren Werth, wann sie sich schon nicht auf begriffe zurükführen, od[er] zur Wißenschaft erheben läßt wie die Poesie." Nägeli to Johann Jakob Horner, Zurich, 21 February 1795, copy by Nägeli's son Hermann, CH-Zz Ms M 8.39/8.

14 CH-Zz Ms Car XV 203,2 (fair copy) and Ms Car XV 203,8 (draft); see Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 350–353.

15 "Ich bin mit meiner Theorie im Reinen, bedarf nur noch mehrerer Sprachkenntniss u. Sprachfertigkeit, um als Schriftsteller das Wesen u. den Werth der Musik als für sich bestehende Kunst (der Instrumental-Musik, die so Viele bloss anstaunen und die Meisten als etwas Verworrenes u. Verwirrendes geringschätzen) zu begründen u. darzuthun, ihre Tauglichkeit zur aesthetischen Bildung, zu vielseitiger Beschäftigung u. Entwicklung der Kräfte, zur gleichzeitigen Erhöhung des Lebensgefühls u. der Geistesthätigkeit zu beweisen und ihr so auch unter der Klasse der Philosophen (besonders der Erzieher) mehrere u. theilnehmendere Anhänger zu gewinnen." Nägeli to Philipp Albert Stapfer, Zurich, 21 February 1799, copy by Hermann Nägeli, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 200,30c. On this letter see also Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, p. 131.

In a nutshell, this was a programme for not a small part of his later life.

The first time Nägeli formulated his theories on instrumental music for the public was in a speech held at the second meeting of the Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft, a society of amateur performers founded in 1808. The speech, published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1811, contained, amongst other topics, a plaidoyer in favour of piano virtuosity.[16] In 1823/1824 he organised a conference tour in several South German cities. His ultimate goal was to settle down in Frankfurt, but this did not succeed.[17] In 1826, though, he published in book form his *Vorlesungen über Musik mit Berücksichtigung der Dilettanten* with the publisher Cotta in Stuttgart.[18] Here he finally formulated extensively his ideas on instrumental music, on which he had been ruminating for thirty years. His concept of the intrinsic value of instrumental music, in particular of piano sonatas, and the positive effect of keyboard virtuosity in stimulating competition amongst composers for the progress of musical art is very much relevant to his activities as bookseller and publisher.

3. The catalogues of Nägeli's lending library One way to contextualise Nägeli's appreciation of Beethoven is to look at the catalogues of his lending library. He chose the titles from the catalogues of his correspondents in Germany, Austria and France; though he did not keep everything in stock in his shop in Zurich (which moved in 1801 from the Augustinergasse to the Obern Hirschengraben No. 20 and in 1807 to the Oberdorfstrasse No. 5),[19] he was certainly able to provide his customers with all the titles listed. The fact that he chose from a panoply of different catalogues implies that the listed titles reflect in a certain measure his personal inclinations.

Several preserved sources give an idea of his assortment in the period of his firm's most thriving activities, from 1791 until 1807. There are printed catalogues starting in

16 Hans Georg Nägeli: Anrede an die Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft bey Eröffnung ihrer Sitzung in Schafhausen [sic] den 21. August 1811, in: *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 13 (1811), cols. 655–664, 665–673, 685–692; see also Kabisch: Hans Georg Nägelis Theorie instrumentaler Virtuosität. On the Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft see Arnold Niggli: *Die Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft. Eine musik- und culturgeschichtliche Studie*, Zurich 1886 and Claudio Bacciagaluppi: Die Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft (1808–91). Ausstrahlung, Repertoire, soziale und politische Implikationen, in: *Schweizer Chorleben seit 1800. Musik, Gesellschaft, Politik und nationale Identität im Wechselspiel = Vie chorale suisse depuis 1800. Musique, société, politique et identité nationale en interaction*, ed. by Caiti Hauck and Cristina Urchueguía, Bern, forthcoming.

17 Rudolf Hunziker: Hans Georg Nägeli. Einige Beiträge zu seiner Biographie, in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung und Sängerblatt* 76 (1936), pp. 601–640, here pp. 633 f.; Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 257 f.

18 Hans Georg Nägeli: *Vorlesungen über Musik mit Berücksichtigung der Dilettanten*, Stuttgart 1826, Reprint, with a foreword by Martin Staehelin, Darmstadt 1983.

19 Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 363 f.

1792 with yearly updates preserved until 1805 and numerous, though irregular announcements in the Zurich official newspapers.[20] While the printed catalogues only list music prints, in the Nägeli *Nachlass* in the University of Zurich library, there is also one catalogue of manuscripts that can be dated to around 1804–1806, judging from the repertoire.[21] It does not list (understandably) any works by Beethoven but contains mainly titles of vocal sacred music by Johann Sebastian Bach, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel and Gottfried August Homilius, and music of Milanese composers such as Giovanni Andrea Fioroni, Bonifacio Asioli and Francesco Pollini, among others.

TABLE 1 Beethoven editions in Nägeli's catalogues, 1792–1805

1794	WoO 40, WoO 66
1795	WoO 67
1796	Op. 1
1797	Op. 2
1798	[piano variations]
1799	Op. 9, Op. 10, Op. 46
1800	Op. 12, [piano variations]
1801	Op. 6, Op. 13, Op. 14, Op. 15, Op. 17, Op. 18
1802	Op. 17 [other edition], Op. 19, Op. 21, Op. 22, Op. 23, Op. 25, Op. 26, Op. 27/1–2, WoO 71, WoO 73, [string quartet]
1803	Op. 12/2 [arrangement], Op. 20 [arrangement], Op. 28, Op. 29, Op. 29 [arrangement], Op. 30, Op. 31/1–2, Op. 33, Op. 34, Op. 51
1804	Op. 35, Op. 36, Op. 39, Op. 41, Op. 42, Op. 43 [Hoffmeister & Kühnel full score], Op. 43 [Hoffmeister & Kühnel piano score], Op. 43 [selection], Op. 44, Op. 45, Op. 46 [other edition], Op. 48/1–6 [Hoffmeister & Kühnel edition], Op. 88 [Hoffmeister & Kühnel edition], WoO 14, WoO 15, WoO 78, WoO 123, WoO 129
1805	Op. 13 & Op. 31/3 [Nägeli edition], Op. 37, Op. 38, Op. 49, WoO 15 [unidentified edition], WoO 55, WoO 64, WoO 74, WoO 79, WoO 82

In Nägeli's printed catalogue and its yearly updates, we find no fewer than 70 Beethoven titles (see Table 1). Most of them are first editions;[22] reprints are probably mostly Leipzig

20 The catalogue and supplements, containing the new publications from the corresponding year, are preserved in A-Wgm 567/8. Advertisements are published from 1792 in the *Donnstags-Blatt* (known as the *Zürcherisches Wochenblatt* from 1801). The data extracted by the author from the catalogue and supplements for the following considerations is accessible on the Zenodo repository, https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4581182.

21 "Verzeichnis | bey Hans Georg Nägeli Musikalien-Handlung vorfindlicher | musikalischer Manuscripte", manuscript, CH-Zz Ms. Car XV 208:1. The Bach titles in the catalogue are instrumental to its dating, see Karen Lehmann: Zur Provenienz der Bach-Kantatensammlung Hans Georg Nägelis. Dokumente aus dem Briefkopierbuch 1804/06 des Verlages Hoffmeister und Kühnel in Leipzig, in: *Johann Sebastian Bach. Weltbild, Menschenbild, Notenbild, Klangbild*, ed. by Armin Schneiderheinze and Winfried Hoffmann, Leipzig 1988, pp. 403–409, and Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, p. 70 n. 73.

editions, considering the close commercial relations Nägeli had with Hoffmeister & Kühnel and with Breitkopf.

Nägeli's catalogue had also a section for musicians' portraits. The supplement for 1802 lists a Beethoven portrait, quite certainly Hoffmeister's edition of the portrait first published in 1801 by Cappi in Vienna.[23] Nägeli also traded in musical instruments, amongst others with Howard [Hauert] in Bern, Pleyel in Paris and also later with Dieudonné & Schiedmayer in Stuttgart.[24]

Table 2 Authors and number of editions of piano sonatas from Nägeli's catalogues, 1792–1805

14 editions: 1 author
Muzio Clementi

12 editions: 1 author
Johann Baptist Cramer

10 editions: 2 authors
Ludwig van Beethoven, Daniel Steibelt

7 editions: 1 author
Jan Ladislav Dussek

6 editions: 4 authors
Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Wölfl

4 editions: 6 authors
Gottlob Bachmann, Johann Wilhelm Hässler, Leopold Koželuh, Franz Lauska, August Eberhard Müller, Wilhelm Friedrich Riem

3 editions: 9 authors
Louis Adam, Adrien Boieldieu, Charles-François Dumonchau, Emanuel Aloys Förster, Friedrich Joseph Kirmair, Franz Xaver Kleinheinz, Charles Pausewang, Anton Reicha, Maximilian Stadler

2 editions: 20 authors
Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann David Brüning, Franz Danzi, Victor Dourlen, Friedrich Ebers, Christoph August Gabler, Wenzel Robert Gallenberg, Josef Gelinek, Johann David Hermann, Franz Anton Hoffmeister, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Friedrich Kersten, Johann Michael Lanz, Ignace Pleyel, Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel, Johann Baptist Vanhal, Bernard Viguerie, Franz Weiss, Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, Paul Wranitzky

22 In Table 1, reprints and unidentified editions are indicated by additions in square brackets.

23 See the information accompanying the digitisation of the copy in D-Bb B 23, www.beethoven.de/de/media/view/5005287131971584/scan/0.

24 For Bern and Paris, see Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 83–85; for Stuttgart, see the letter by Nägeli to Dieudonné & Schiedmayer, Zurich, 24 July 1820, CH-Zsta VII.300:1 Schachtel 1 Mappe 1.

1 edition: 46 authors
Charles-Simon Catel, Friedrich Dalberg, Françoise Elizabeth Desfossez, Franz Destouches, Anton Eberl, Carl Friedrich Eckhard, Carl Fasch, John Field, Eucharius Florschütz, Anton Fodor, Friedrich Christoph Gestewitz, Friedrich Wilhelm Haack, François-Joseph Herold, Hyacinthe Jadin, Louis Jadin, Gotthard Wilhelm Kahl, Friedrich August Kanne, Johann Christian Kittel, Justin Heinrich Knecht, Nikolaus von Krufft, Johann Georg Lämmerhirt, Christian Ignatius Latrobe, Franciszek Lessel, Johann Georg Lickl, Anton Liste, Joseph Ludwig Lodi, Johann Gallus Mederitsch, Hélène-Antoinette-Marie de Montgéroult, Wilhelm Pohl, Francesco Pollini, Henri-Joseph Rigel, Jeremias Rosenmüller, Antonio Rosetti, Johann Caspar Rüttinger, Johann Schadeck, Giacinto Schiatti, Schnyder [?], Gottlob Wilhelm Scholz, Joseph [?] Schubert, Schwarz [?], Johann Spech, Jean-François Tapray, Daniel Gottlob Türk, Volkert [?], Philipp Wschejansky, Georg Carl Zulehner

Let us now focus on the sonata genre (which Nägeli considered the highest genre of instrumental music)[25] and compare the number of Beethoven sonata editions in Nägeli's catalogues with those of other composers (Table 2). The ranking certainly reflects the productivity and general success of the respective authors, but again in a certain degree also a personal choice of repertoire. In fact, Nägeli had written to Johann André in 1795:

> "The difficult solos by Clementi and Cramer are not profitable, but I am personally very interested; so, I would be very grateful if you could send me (if not engraved, handwritten) single copies with the next post carriage. Please send me the incipits of Dussek's works."

And later the same year: "I already have the complete works of Haydn, Clementi, Cramer, Ferrari and Dussek".[26]

4. "Ich habe ein Projekt mit französischen Musikalien" Nägeli's printed catalogues were intended for his local public in Switzerland and southern Germany. But he also traded with other booksellers and publishers, specialising in a quite promising branch: trade, often *en gros* – that is, with more than 50 copies[27] – between France and Germany. From

25 Nägeli: Vorlesungen über Musik, pp. 176 f.

26 "Die schweren Solo's von Clementi u. Kramer sind nicht com[m]erciabel; sie interessieren mich aber sehr für mein particulier; deswegen verbinden sie mich sehr, wen[n] Sie mir durch nächsten Postwagen (wo nicht gestochen, doch geschrieben) einzelne Exemplare übersenden. Von Dusseks Werken erbitte ich mir die Themata", Nägeli to Johann André in Offenbach, Zurich, 25 July 1795, CH-W BRH MS 124/2; "Mit den sämtlichen Werken von Haydn, Clementi, Cramer, Ferrary, Dusek bin ich schon versehen", Nägeli to Johann André in Offenbach, Zurich, 16 September 1795, CH-W BRH MS 124/2. Though it is not the focus of this paper, Nägeli's catalogues can also be useful to trace unknown music editions, such as the six Sonatas "dans le Style d'Ekard, Haydn, Clementi, Cramer, Steibelt & Mozart" by Antonio Rosetti, the three Sonatas Op. 3 by [Joseph?] Schubert, or the three Sonatas Op. 1 by Françoise Elizabeth Desfossez, mentioned in the 1792, 1796, and 1797 catalogues, respectively.

27 "Wenn nehmlich der Handel ins Grosse getrieben, d. h. wenn von dem nehmlichen werk 50–100 Ex. verkauft werden könnten"; Nägeli to Johann Kaspar Horner in London, Zurich, 14 August 1802, CH-ZZ Ms Car. 200.36b (copy by Hermann Nägeli).

Zurich, Nägeli announces to his friend Johann Jakob Horner on 25 March 1795 that he has "a project with French music".[28] Starting at the latest in 1793, he had been selling Parisian prints to German publishers/booksellers: to Breitkopf (by 1793) and Hoffmeister & Kühnel (by 1801) in Leipzig, to Hoffmeister (by 1794), Artaria (by 1795) and the Industrie Comptoir (by 1802) in Vienna, to Falter in Munich (by 1794), and to Fischer in Landshut/Silesia (by 1799).[29] As for his contacts in Paris, he wrote on 24 January 1795 to Bernard Viguerie that he already corresponded regularly with the Institut national de musique and with the publishing firms Bailleux, Boyer, Imbault, Naderman and Sieber.[30]

As a bookseller he conducted a life-long battle against reprints of pirated originals – quite logically so, since his plan was to sell original Parisian prints in Germany and (to a lesser extent) vice versa. He was aware of this problem already in 1794, when he wrote to the Institut national that "it is necessary to always send me a large number of copies of each novelty at a time, because there are publishers in Germany who counterfeit French novelties".[31] In youthful self-assurance he wrote to Clementi the same year that "I [...] am so critical to [the music publishers'] enterprise that none dare pirate my work for fear of jeopardising our relationship."[32] This assumption was to prove itself unfortunately untrue: in 1828, he still reproached several German publishers for having published pirated reprints of his own editions of works by Wölfl, Tomášek, Beethoven and himself.[33]

28 "Wen[n] du auf Weimar kom[m]st, so suche mit dem Redakteur des Mode Journal Bertuch Bekanntschaft zu machen, ich habe ein Projekt mit französischen Musikalien, wobei mir dieser Bertuch ganz vortrefflich an die Hand gehen kön[n]te". Nägeli to Johann Jakob Horner, Zurich, 25 March 1795, CH-Zz Ms M 8.39.

29 Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, p. 64.

30 Nägeli to Bernard Viguerie in Paris, Zurich, 24 January 1795, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 200,17 (copy by Hermann Nägeli).

31 "Il est necessaire de m'envoyer toujours de chaque nouveauté un grand nombre d'exemplaires à la fois, car il y a des éditeurs en Allemagne qui contrefont les nouveautés françaises". Nägeli to the Institut national in Paris, Zurich, 29 November 1794, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 199,3a (copy by Hermann Nägeli). See also Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 65 f. For a discussion of pirate reprints and reprints by permission in connection with Beethoven see Patricia Stroh: Evolution of an Edition. The Case of Beethoven's Opus 2 Part 2. Partners and Pirates, Correction and Corruption. The Reprint Publishers and Their Editions from 1798 to 1826, in: *Notes* 60 (2003), pp. 46–129.

32 "Ich [...] bin [den Musikverlegern] so wichtig, dass keiner sich unterstehen darf, mir ein Werk nachzudrucken, weil es das Mittel wäre, sich mit mir zu entzweyen." Nägeli to Clementi in London, Zurich, 19 November 1794, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 199,2a. See *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, ed. by David Rowland, Bologna 2010 (Opera omnia, Vol. 14), p. 22; the English translation is on pp. 22 f.

33 "Wollen Sie nicht allen Verlegern, denen Sie Schutz Ihres Eigenthums zumuthen, die Reciprocität anbieten, die ich wirklich von Ihnen fordern muß, indem mir vormals, als angehendem Verleger

When he expanded the scope of his firm and planned his first publication projects, not having the necessary infrastructure, he had to look for an engraver and a printer. His first two editions were engraved in Zurich. He started collaborating with a certain J. H. Walder, who in the 1780s and 1790s engraved a handful of music prints from Zurich and Winterthur. In 1793 Walder engraved for Nägeli a first set of sonatas by his teacher, Johann David Brüning. Brüning's Op. 2 was prepared for Nägeli by Jacob Joseph Clausner, an engraver from nearby Zug.[34] Brüning's Op. 3 was instead printed in Paris by Imbault thanks to Nägeli's mediation, and – according to himself in a letter to Clementi – at his own expense.[35] For his further publications in the 1790s, vocal music by himself and by Friedrich Ludwig Aemilius Kunzen, he moved to Wilhelm Haas in Basel, who used typography.[36] But he was quite unhappy with Haas:

> "As much pressure I may make on that confounded Haas, I couldn't even get him to tell me when he can finish the work [on Nägeli's first lieder collection, *Lieder in Musik gesetzt von* H. G. *Nägeli*, Zurich 1794]. In the end I'll have to make up my mind to let the Alsatian print my lieder, as little as I like the idea. In case it should be impossible to come to an agreement with Haas, tell me please how to manage producing a reasonable and not tasteless edition with the Alsatian".[37]

Finally, Haas finished the work in time; the reference to an unidentified Alsatian printer, however, is interesting in that Nägeli was apparently ready to resort to a printer outside Switzerland. Between 1797 and 1800 the political troubles in Switzerland forced him to interrupt his activities as a publisher. But from 1800 on he started again, with increased intensity and with a new concept. Continuing his journey westwards, from

große alte Handlungen, kostspielige Originale von Wölfl, *Tomaschek*, *Beethoven* (von Lezterm 4 verschiedene Klavierwerke) unbarmherzig nachdruckten, und ich seither, sogar als selbstverlegender Autor, vielfach ausgeplündert worden bin". Circular letter by Nägeli to Artaria in Vienna, Breitkopf & Härtel, Hoffmeister, Peters and Probst in Leipzig, Schlesinger in Berlin, Schott in Mainz and Simrock in Bonn, as a reply to a "pro memoria" in the *Intelligenzblatt* of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 18 June 1828, [Zurich], 16 August 1828, CH-W BRH MS 124/5.

34 Walder worked for Bürkli (RISM A/I W 90), for Füssli (RISM A/I K 217) and for the composer Franz Schwaiberger (RISM A/I S 2454 and 2455) in Zurich as well as for Steiner in Winterthur (RISM A/I F 2091 and RISM A/I W 846; WW 846). Clausner had engraved a fantasia for the composer Joseph Bernhard Sidler (RISM A/I S 3396).

35 Nägeli to Muzio Clementi in London, Zurich, 18 January 1794, CH-ZZ Ms Car XV 199,29; see also *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, p. 19.

36 On Nägeli's first publications see Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 90–95.

37 "So sehr ich den vermaladeÿten Haas pressire, so habe ich es noch nicht einmal dahin gebracht, daß er sich bestimmt erklärt hat, auf welche Zeit er mir das Werk liefern kann. Ich werde mich am Ende noch entschließen müßen, meine Lieder beÿm Elsäßer druken zu laßen, so ungern ich es auch thue. [...] Wenn es geradezu unmöglich wäre, mit Haas zurecht zu kommen, so sag mir doch, wie ich es anstellen müßte um auch beÿm Elsäßer noch eine vernünftige und nicht geschmaklose edition herauszubringen". Nägeli to Johann Jakob Horner, Zurich, 27 September 1794, CH-ZZ Ms M 8.39/3.

Zurich to Basel and Alsatia, and profiting from his well-established contacts with Paris, he decided to engrave and print all his products directly in Paris. Charles-Nicolas Richomme signed a contract to engrave 120 plates per month for Nägeli – a quite impressive quantity.[38]

5. The two piano series after 1800 In the 1790s Nägeli was a bookseller who occasionally printed some music; from 1800 to 1807 his activities as a publisher were at least as relevant to his business as his bookshop. Between 1801 and 1802 Nägeli started two very ambitious series that were intended to be complementary and reflect his idea of the development of keyboard music. Of the "Musikalische Kunstwerke im strengen Style von J. S. Bach u. andern Meistern", seven volumes were published between 1801 and 1804 with works by Johann Sebastian Bach, Georg Friedrich Händel and Johann Ernst Eberlin.[39] For the "Répertoire des Clavecinistes" he started with four reprints of works by Muzio Clementi, Johann Baptist Cramer, Jan Ladislav Dussek and Daniel Steibelt (see Table 3). No earlier edition of Steibelt's two sonatas is actually known; nevertheless I agree with Miriam Roner's view that Nägeli's volume 4 is probably a reprint.[40] The first issue with original works was thus volume 5 with Beethoven's Sonatas Op. 31 Nos. 1 and 2. With the aim of augmenting the impact of his new series, Nägeli actually waited for the fifth volume to be ready before announcing the "Répertoire" to the public. In accordance with his attitude towards pirate reprints, he pointed out:

> "I find it finally necessary to note that, in order not to diminish anyone's rights in this undertaking (with regard to the older works to be included), I have contractually acquired the publishing rights from the original publishers of such works that essentially belong here".[41]

Notice that the five composers of the first five volumes are also the most represented in Nägeli's catalogues as a bookseller (compare Table 2 and Table 3).

38 Nägeli to Kaspar Keller in Paris, Zurich, 9 October 1802, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 200,40b (copy by Hermann Nägeli).

39 On Nägeli's views of Bach's instrumental music at the time see Bernd Sponheuer: Das Bach-Bild Hans Georg Nägelis und die Entstehung der musikalischen Autonomieästhetik, in: *Die Musikforschung* 39 (1986), pp. 107–123; on the series as a whole see Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 103–107.

40 See ibid., p. 110.

41 "Endlich finde ich noch nöthig anzumerken, daß ich, um bei diesem Unternehmen (in Hinsicht auf die aufzunehmenden ältern Werke) niemanden an seinem Recht zu schmälern, von den Original-Verlegern solcher Werke, die wesentlich hierher gehören, das Verlagsrecht vertragsmäßig an mich gebracht habe." Hans Georg Nägeli: Ankündigung, in: *Der Freimüthige* 1 (1803), *Litterarischer und artistischer Anzeiger. Beilage zu dem Freimüthigen*, Achtes Blatt, pp. 31 f., here p. 32. Also in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5 (1803), *Intelligenzblatt* No. 23, August 1803, pp. 98 f.

TABLE 3 The titles in the "Répertoire des Clavecinistes". First editions are marked by an asterisk

	Vol.	Title
	Vol. 1	Muzio Clementi, Trois sonates, 1803
	Vol. 2	Johann Baptist Cramer, Trois sonates, 1803
	Vol. 3	Jan Ladislav Dussek, Trois sonates, 1803
	Vol. 4	Daniel Steibelt, Deux sonates, 1803
*	Vol. 5	Ludwig van Beethoven, Deux sonates [Op. 31/1-2], 1803
*	Vol. 6	Friedrich Wilhelm Haack, Caprice et variations, 1803
	Vol. 7	Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse, Allegri di bravura, 1803
*	Vol. 8	Maximilian Stadler, Deux sonates suivies d'une fugue [fugue: reprint of Op. 1/3], 1803
*	Vol. 9	Anton Liste, Deux sonates, 1804
	Vol. 10	Muzio Clementi, Trois sonates, 1804
*	Vol. 11	Ludwig van Beethoven, Deux sonates [reprint of Op. 13 and first edition of Op. 31/3], 1804
*	Vol. 12	Joseph Wölfl, Sonate précédée d'une Introduction et Fugue, 1804
*	Vol. 13	Francesco Pollini, Variations et Rondeaux, 1804
*	Vol. 14	Václav Jan Tomášek, Sonate et Rondeau, 1805
	Vol. 15	Ludwig van Beethoven, Grande sonate [Op. 53], 1805
*	Vol. 16	Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse, Allegri di bravura, 1809
*	Vol. 17	Anton Liste, Grande Sonate, 1810

In August 1803, Nägeli published an announcement of his "Répertoire" in the French press:

> "This repertoire will form a collection of Sonatas and other pieces for unaccompanied piano, composed by Mr. Beethoven and other German composers, which are not yet known in France. Above all, those shall be chosen which stand out for their profound knowledge of harmony, for their most varied and ingenious passages, permitting a brilliant performance."[42]

Notice that the authors of the "Répertoire" are not considered to be well known in France. The wording also reflects Nägeli's views on the qualities of piano compositions as the works in the series are praised for their combination of harmonic knowledge and brilliant performance. For the French public he left out the first four volumes and started with the Beethoven volume, adding volumes 6 and 7 (which were absent from the German announcement): "The first three issues, containing: The 1st Beethoven, two great Sonatas, the 2nd Haak, Caprice and Variations, the 3rd Weysse, 6 Allegri di bravura, have

42 "Ce Répertoire formera une collection de Sonates et d'autres pièces pour le Piano sans accompagnement, composées par M. Beetoven et par d'autres auteurs allemands, qui ne sont point encore connus en France. On choisira surtout celles qui se font remarquer par une connoissance profonde de l'harmonie, par les tours les plus variés, les plus ingénieux, et les plus propres a [sic] faire valoir une exécution brillante." Hans Georg Nägeli: Nouvel ouvrage périodique intitulé: Repertoire des Clavecinistes, in: *Correspondance des amateurs musiciens* 1 (1802/1803), No. 37, 18 thermidor an 11 (= 6 August 1803), p. 4.

already been published."[43] Not much is known about sales and print runs. We know that 200 copies of volumes 1–5 were to be sent from Paris to Zurich. We also know that, for the French market, Nägeli kept in Paris 50 copies of volumes 5–7.[44] He also issued French title pages for the series "im strengen Style", renaming it more generically "Collection de Fugues des maîtres anciens", as already noticed by Rudolph Hunziker.[45] For the "Répertoire" series, he just added the name of his French partner, Madame Nadermann, because the title page was already in French. The series number, which was always entered by hand, is adapted, reading for instance 5 in the German issue and 1 in the French issue (see Figures 2a and 2b).

Both the "Kunstwerke im strengen Style" and the "Répertoire des clavecinistes" can thus be seen, amongst others, as pioneering efforts to bring these respective repertoires to the French public. Érard, Pleyel, Sieber, Cochet, and Imbault had been reprinting piano and chamber works by Beethoven since 1800, but presumably not all were authorised reprints. Since late 1802, one could buy original German editions of Beethoven's works at the newly opened shop of Heinrich Simrock.[46] As late as 1805 Simrock felt the need to explain to the Parisians who Beethoven was:

> "This young composer, now one of Germany's leading pianists, tends to rival Steibelt in his constant work: he is at once graceful and learned. Some amateurs reproach him for not singing enough: the German newspapers reply by advising them to study it enough to play it the way it should be played, and guarantee that this reproach will not be repeated."[47]

43 "Les trois premiers Cahiers, contenant: Le 1er BEETOVEN, deux grandes Sonates, Le 2e. HAAK, Caprice et variations, Le 3e. WEYSSE, 6 Allegri di bravura, sont déjà sortis de presse." Ibid.

44 "Von den Sonaten von Clementi, Cramer, Dusseck, Steibelt, Beethoven müssen seiner Zeit 200 Ex. gedruckt u. hergesandt werden". Nägeli to Kaspar Keller in Paris, Zurich, 3 November 1802, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 200,42b (copy by Hermann Nägeli); "Lassen Sie für Frankreich 50 Ex. *Beethoven* als 1ten Heft des Répertoire, 50 Ex. Haak als 2ten Heft u. 50 Ex. Weyse als 3tes Heft drucken, u. die Nummern 1, 2, 3 setzen Sie mit Schwarzer Kreide klein u. artig geschrieben vorn an das Wort Suite auf den Titeln". Nägeli to Kaspar Keller in Paris, Zurich, 25 May 1803, CH-Zz Ms Car XV 199,37a (copy by Hermann Nägeli).

45 Hunziker: Hans Georg Nägeli, pp. 617 f. As an example, see the German and French title pages of Nägeli's edition of J. S. Bach's Sonatas BWV 1014–1019 in the copy owned by the University of Zurich library (shelfmarks Mus Jac G 69 and Mus 841), available online on the e-rara platform.

46 François Lesure: Les premières éditions françaises de Beethoven (1800–1811), in: *Musik, Edition, Interpretation. Gedenkschrift Günter Henle*, ed. by Martin Bente, Munich 1980, pp. 326–331.

47 "Ce jeune compositeur, aujourd'hui l'un des premiers clavecinistes de l'Allemagne, tend par ses constans travaux à rivaliser Stebelt [sic]: il est à-la-fois gracieux et savant. Quelques amateurs lui reprochent de ne pas chanter assez: les journaux allemands leur répondent en leur conseillant de l'étudier assez pour le jouer tel qu'il doit l'être, et promettent qu'alors ce reproche ne sera pas renouvelé." [Anon.]: Musique, in: *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel* 17 (1805), 24 April 1805, p. 900.

Figure 2a The German title page of Op. 31/1–2
D-BNba HCB C Md 31 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer)

After Simrock, Nägeli was possibly the second to provide the Parisian public with a Beethoven novelty and thus can be considered amongst the pioneers of Beethoven reception in Paris.

6. Competition and cross-reference in the "Répertoire" As mentioned above, in June 1803, when the first Beethoven volume was ready, Nägeli printed an announcement in the supplement (*Beilage*) to August von Kotzebue's *Der Freimüthige oder Berlinische Zeitung für gebildete, unbefangene Leser* followed in August by an identical one in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. There he told the readers that the first five volumes were ready and that he planned to publish further issues with works by Beethoven, Georg Joseph Vogler, Bonifacio Asioli, Friedrich Wilhelm Haack, Anton Reicha and Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse.[48]

Eventually, he would publish in the series works by Haack and Weyse but none by Vogler and Reicha. He did publish at the time two capriccios by Asioli (Op. 1 and Op. 5), but for unknown reasons he decided not to put them into his series. Possibly Asioli did

48 Nägeli: Ankündigung.

FIGURE 2B The French title page of Op. 31/1–2
D-BNba J. Van der Spek C op. 31 (Beethoven-Haus Bonn)

not send him a third one to fill the volume, even if he otherwise gave out his works free of charge. Perhaps the third capriccio turned out to be for piano four hands and – because it didn't fit the series – was printed separately as Op. 3.[49] Nägeli had also asked Dussek for new works late in 1802, but Dussek did not accept, feeling bound to his German publishers Breitkopf & Härtel.[50] Nägeli then asked Clementi for works by Dussek to distribute on the continent, and, in 1804, sent in exchange Beethoven's Op. 31/3 and Joseph Wölfl's Sonata in c minor (from volumes 11 and 12 respectively); while Clementi reprinted Nägeli's editions, in the end, no new volume with works by Dussek entered the series.[51] Clementi himself had actually promised to compose new works especially for the "Répertoire":

49 RISM A/I AA 2502 III,79, AA 2502 III,82 and AA 2502 III,80 (for four hands). See the letter by Nägeli to Johann Jacob Horner in Paris, Zurich, 18 July 1802, CH-Zz Ms. Car XV 196.27.2.

50 Max Ernst Unger: Vom Musikverleger H. G. Nägeli, in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung und Sängerblatt* 63 (1923), pp. 193 f., 209 f., 225 f.; Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, p. 109.

> "I announce to the public that, having examined during my stay in Zurich the plan of the Répertoire des Clavecinistes of Mr. Nägeli's publishing house, I will make several new productions, of which Mr. Nägeli will be the only legitimate publisher on the continent, in favour of this enterprise, which deserves all my approval".[52]

Though in August 1805 he only had to "give the last touch to [his] three new sonatas, which [Nägeli] has expected so long", no new set was printed in Zurich, and the three sonatas mentioned are commonly identified as Clementi's Op. 50, only issued in 1821.[53]

The core piece of Nägeli's announcement is an invitation for a sort of composition competition, and the works required should combine contrapuntal skill with progressive instrumental virtuosity:

> "All other piano composers who have not received my personal invitation are invited to correspond with me and send me their contributions if they dare to compete with the artists mentioned. I will not reject anything without stating my reasons, and I will reward what I take in appropriately. I briefly set out my main requirements here: first of all, I require piano solos in a grand style, on a large scale, with diverse variations from the usual sonata form. The works should be characterised by detail, richness and fullness of sound [*Vollstimmigkeit*]. Contrapuntal movements must be interwoven with artificial piano-player passages. Anyone who is not skilled in the arts of contrapuntal music and is not at the same time a piano virtuoso will hardly be able to achieve anything worthy of note here."[54]

51 Clementi's letter from Leipzig to Frederick William Collard in London on 10 June 1804 mentioning the transaction with Nägeli is known only as a fragment from later transcriptions, see *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, pp. 117–119. *A Grand Sonata for the Piano Forte composed by Lewis Van Beethoven*, Op. 47 [sic], London [1804] (RISM ID No. 993000277); *A Grand Sonata for the Piano Forte Composed by Joseph Woelfl*, Op. 25 [sic], London [1805] (with copies e. g. in GB-Lbl).

52 "Je previens le public, qu'ayant examiné pendant mon séjour à Zuric le plan du Repertoire des Clavecinistes de l'édition de Mr. Naigueli, je ferai paroitre en faveur de cette entreprise, qui merite toute mon approbation, plusieurs nouvelles productions, dont Mr. Naigueli sera seul editeur legitime sur le continent." Muzio Clementi: Musik-Anzeige betreffend das Repertoire des Clavecinistes, in: *Zeitschrift für die elegante Welt* 4 (1804), Intelligenzblatt of 2 June 1804, p. [1] (signed by Clementi from Zurich on 18 May 1804); there followed an announcement by Nägeli of volumes 8 to 12 of the "Répertoire" on p. [2].

53 Clementi to Collard in London, Berlin, 31 August 1805, in: *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, p. 154. See also *The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, p. 126 n. 206, Unger: Vom Musikverleger H. G. Nägeli, p. 194, and Leon Plantinga: Clementi "et ses trois styles", in: *Muzio Clementi cosmopolita della musica. Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 2002*, Bologna 2004, pp. 3–24, here p. 19.

54 "Alle andern Klavierkomponisten, an die meine besondere Einladung bisher noch nicht gelangen konnte, lade ich hiermit ein, mit mir in Korrespondenz zu treten, und mir ihre Beiträge einzusenden, wenn sie sich getrauen, mit den genannten Künstlern zu concurriren. Ich werde nichts verwerfen ohne Anführung meiner Gründe, und, was ich aufnehme, angemessen honoriren. Meine Hauptanforderungen setze ich hier kürzlich fest: Es ist mir zunächst um Klavier-Solos in großem Styl, von großem Umfang, in mannigfaltigen Abweichungen von der gewöhnlichen Sonaten-Form zu thun. Ausführlichkeit, Reichhaltigkeit, Vollstimmigkeit soll diese Produkte auszeichnen. Contrapunktische Sätze müssen mit künstlichen Klavierspieler-Touren verwebt seyn. Wer in den Künsten des

It is not clear if any works published in the series were written in response to the competition. We know that E. T. A. Hoffmann did contact Nägeli after reading it in the *Freimütige* supplement, but Nägeli refused the music he submitted.[55]

Of Ljubljana-born baron Francesco Pollini, Nägeli had listed in his 1803 supplement catalogue three sonatas (labelled Op. 1 by Nägeli) and had recently published a set of *Tre canzonette coll'accompagnamento di Piano-Forte*.[56] Pollini's variations and rondeau in volume 13 of the "Répertoire" (1804) are dedicated to Clementi. Not surprisingly, his compositional style – at least here – reminds one of Clementi or Mozart rather than Beethoven (see Figure 3). One additional volume in the series has a dedication to a

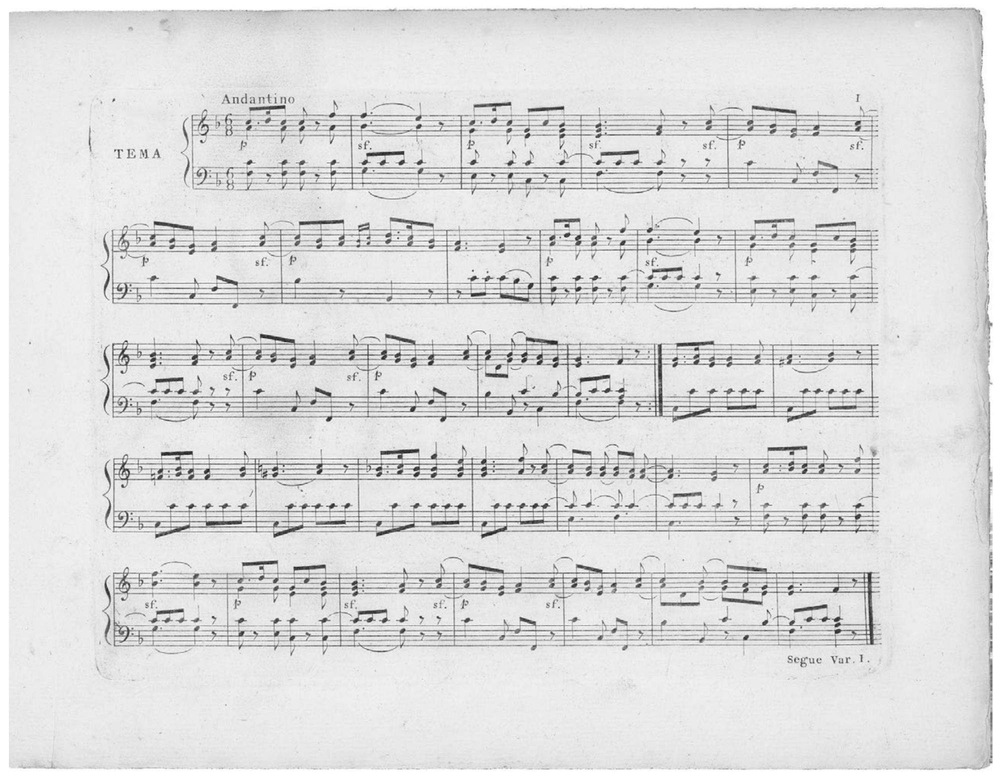

FIGURE 3 The theme from Francesco Pollini's *Variations & rondeau pour le Piano-Forte*, Zurich: Nägeli 1804 (RISM A/I, PP 5070 I,60). CH-E 737,23

Contrapunkts keine Gewandtheit besitzt, und nicht zugleich Klavier-Virtuose ist, wird hier kaum etwas Nahmhaftes leisten können." Nägeli: Ankündigung. The French announcement mentioned above (Nägeli: Nouvel ouvrage périodique) was much shorter, and while the main elements are maintained, it did not mention the competition.

55 Unger: Vom Musikverleger H. G. Nägeli, pp. 225 f.

56 RISM A/I PP 5070 I,55 and RISM A/I PP 5070 I,5, respectively.

composer: Anton Liste's two sonatas (Vol. 9, 1804), dedicated to Beethoven.[57] Considering the scope of the series and the text of the competition announcement, a dedication to a fellow composer is quite a commitment.

When Nägeli published his first piano compositions in 1808, the first set of six of a planned twelve toccatas (*Douze Toccates pour le Piano-Forte*, Zurich: Nägeli [1808]), he dedicated them "aux auteurs du repertoire des Clavecinistes". Out of modesty, he did not insert his own work in the series; nevertheless, with his dedication he both took the "Répertoire" composers as models and also gave them an example of his concept of progressive piano composition. It is not by chance that Nägeli composed toccatas: in his aesthetics, the modern keyboard 'Toccatenstyl' since Clementi was a landmark for instrumental music, concentrating the highest possible degree of artistic performance ("Kunstleistung") in a dense, virtuosic texture.[58] In 1808, Marie Bigot praised Nägeli's toccatas, and together with her husband, she found at least two new subscribers for them: "Your toccatas, dear Mr Nägeli, have been a great pleasure to me; I play them every day and not yet as well as I would like, but I find them incredibly beautiful, especially the first three."[59] Their style appears to be an unusual mixture of Baroque reminiscences and modern piano technique (see Figure 4).

7. Nägeli's catalogues and publication series from the 1820s The Napoleonic wars led to a financial crisis in 1808 which put a stop to Nägeli's ambitious editorial projects. In 1809 and 1810 two last volumes of the "Répertoire" were issued with works by Weyse and Liste. Nägeli had to leave the management of his business to his creditor Hug and change the firm's name to "Nägeli and Company". The contract with Hug had a ten-year option for Nägeli to buy back his firm, but, failing to take advantage of that option, in 1818 he was fired, and the business continued as "Gebrüder Hug". Nägeli opened a new firm under his name, which he led until his death in 1836 (and which was eventually amalgamated into Hug in 1849).[60] The sources for the activities of the new firm are the printed general catalogue of 1818, its yearly supplements (incompletely preserved), and several advertisements in the *Zürcherisches Wochenblatt*.[61]

57 *Deux Sonates Pour Le Piano Forte Composées par Antoine Liste*, Zurich [1804] (Répertoire des Clavecinistes, Vol. 9) (RISM ID No. 400101992).

58 Kabisch: Hans Georg Nägelis Theorie instrumentaler Virtuosität, p. 136 f.; Nägeli: *Vorlesungen über Musik*, p. 172.

59 "Ihre Toccaten lieber Herr Näguely haben mir ein sehr grosses Vergnügen gemacht; Ich spiele sie alle Tage und noch nicht so gut als ich es wünschte und doch finde ich sie ungemein schön besonders die drey ersten". Marie Bigot to Hans Georg Nägeli in Zurich, Vienna, 23 October 1808, D-BNba BH 160.

60 Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven*, p. 11.

FIGURE 4 The opening of the first toccata from Nägeli's *Douze toccates*, Vol. 1, Zurich: Nägeli [1808]. CH-W BRH 10827 (Winterthurer Bibliotheken, Sammlung Winterthur)

In the 1820s, a few titles from Nägeli's earlier production resurfaced in France but with Richault as publisher: works by Asioli, Danzi, Tomášek, Bach, and Händel. These are not newly engraved but instead used the original plates. Richault reissued Asioli's capriccios Op. 1 and Op. 5, three duets by Franz Danzi and a sonata by Tomášek.[62] The address confirms that the Asioli reprints were not issued before 1825. In 1828, the *Revue Musicale* announced that Richault had bought the rights of the works by Bach and Händel that Nägeli had engraved in Paris.[63] Indeed, Richault issued *Vingt-quatre préludes et fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons du mode majeur et mineur* (Nägeli's volumes 1 and 2, 1801), *L'Art de la fugue* (volumes 4 and 5, 1802) and *Six grandes sonates entremêlées de fûgues pour le clavecin*

61 The catalogues are kept in CH-Zsta (the general catalogue), CH-Bu (the general catalogue and the supplements Nos. 1/1818, 2/1818, 5/1821, 6/1822, 7/1823 and 8/1824) and CH-Zz (the supplement No. 6/1822).

62 RISM A/I AA 2502 III,78 and RISM A/I AA 2502 III,81; a copy of both is preserved in CH-E; RISM A/I D 1027; DD 1027, with copies in A-Wgm and US-R; of the Richault editions of Tomášek's Op. 14, a copy is preserved in A-Wn and is digitally accessible: http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/10015207.

63 "La propriété des ouvrages de J. S. Bach et de Haendel, que Naigueli de Zürich avait autrefois fait graver avec soin à Paris"; Anik Devriès-Lesure/François Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Genève 1979–1988 (Archives de l'édition musicale française, Vol. 4), Vol. 2, p. 363.

FIGURE 5A Series title page of the "Répertoire des Clavecinistes" from Beethoven's Op. 31/1–2. CH-ZZ Mus WG 75: 5 (https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-25214)

ou piano forté avec violon concertant (volume 6, 1803) by Bach, as well as *Huit suites pour le clavecin ou piano-forte* (volume 3, 1802) and *Six fugues* (from volume 5, 1802) by Händel.[64] Nägeli (or Hug) had evidently sold the plates for the older editions.

In 1825, Nägeli sought to revive his two important series of the 1800s by starting two new series: "Musikalische Ehrenpforte" (explicitly a continuation of the "Répertoire des clavecinistes") and "Die Kontrapunktisten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" (implicitly a sort of modern correspondent to the ancient masterpieces "im strengen Style"). Already by comparing the series titles it is clear that Nägeli wants to resume where he left off with the "Répertoire" in 1810 (see Figure 5a/b). In his announcement of the two new series from January 1826, he also quoted the abandoned "Répertoire" series and mentioned further that Carl Czerny, Friedrich Kuhlau, Ignaz Moscheles and Ferdinand Ries had already promised a contribution for the "Ehrenpforte" as well as other unnamed masters for the "Contrapunktisten":

64 A copy of all titles is preserved in GB-Lbl except for the *Goldberg Variations*, kept in US-CAe and digitised: https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.Loeb:3996755. *The Art of Fugue* is also digitally available from F-Pn: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1174800b.

Figure 5b Series title page of the "Musikalische Ehrenpforte" from Czerny's Op. 124. CH-Zsta VII.300:1 Schachtel 9 Mappe 28

"That the *Repertoire des Clavecinistes*, which I undertook a quarter of a century ago, contains in its seventeen issues a significant treasure of excellent piano works, is well known and acknowledged. [...] With such piano compositions, and by means of them, the art of piano playing also progressed, and has now in our days attained such an expansion and dissemination that an undertaking which opens up a new concurrence for the composers of this genre, and which promises to deliver only solid works of art, must now be considered quite timely. [...] Among the piano composers who have been most famous for years, most have given their approval to the undertaking, and Messrs. Carl Czerny in Vienna, Kuhlau in Copenhagen, Moscheles in London, and Ries in Godesberg have already assured me of their contributions. [...] This undertaking will contain piano solo works in the greatest possible variety; the artful and difficult – as long as it is suitable for the instrument – shall not be excluded, nor shall the more simple, as long as it is witty and inventive. [...] Only real fugues and

canons will be excluded. These will be provided in a special undertaking under the title: 'Die Contrapunktisten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts'. For this, too, I have been assured of important contributions."[65]

Already in 1822, Sebastian Zetter, a German living in Paris, had written to Nägeli, suggesting to him a collaboration both for publishing new works in Paris and for distributing Nägeli's editions in France. In his answer, Nägeli proposed to send him "a conspicuous piano work by Ries and one by Czerny", the two Sonatas that were eventually published.[66] Nägeli pursued his strategy of collaborating with Parisian engravers, but he tried to minimise financial risks by sharing the rights with his new French printer for the "Ehrenpforte". Of the two published volumes with sonatas by Ries and Czerny, there are two issues with separate frontispieces but identical content.

SONATE | FÜR DAS | Piano-Forte | COMPONIRT UND | der Frau Amalia Schott | gebornen KIRCHHOFFER in Wien | zugeeignet | VON | FERD. RIES. | Op. 141. | Erstes Heft der musikalischen Ehrenpforte. | Subscriptions-Preis 3 Groschen, Ladenpreis 4 Groschen p. Bogen. | Eigenthum der Verleger. | ZÜRICH bey Hans Georg NÄGELI u. Comp. | Noël sc[ripsi]t (CH-ZSTA VII.300:1 Schachtel 9 Mappe 28)

65 "Daß das vor einem Vierteljahrhundert von mir unternommene *Repertoire des Clavecinistes* in seinen siebzehn Lieferungen einen bedeutenden Schatz von vortrefflichen Klavierwerken enthält, ist bekannt und anerkannt. [...] Mit solchen Klavier-Compositionen, und vermittelst derselben schritt auch die Klavierspielkunst vorwärts, und hat nun in unsern Tagen eine solche Erweiterung und Verallgemeinerung erlangt, daß nunmehr eine Unternehmung, welche für die Componisten dieses Faches eine neue Concurrenz eröffnet, und nur gediegene Kunstwerke zu liefern verspricht, ganz zeitgemäß befunden werden muß. [...] Unter den seit Jahren her rühmlichst bekannten Klavier-Componisten haben die meisten der Unternehmung ihren Beyfall ertheilt, und schon haben die Herren Carl Czerny in Wien, Kuhlau in Copenhagen, Moscheles in London, und Rins [recte Ries] in Godesberg mir ihre Beyträge zugesichert. [...] Diese Unternehmung wird Klavier-Solo-Werke in möglichster Mannigfaltigkeit enthalten; das Kunstvolle und dabey Schwierige wird, sofern es instrumentgemäß ist, eben so wenig ausgeschlossen, als das Einfachere, sofern es geistreich und erfinderisch ist. [...] Einzig bleiben wirkliche Fugen und Canons ausgeschlossen. Diese werden in einer besondern Unternehmung unter dem Titel: 'Die Contrapunktisten des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.' geliefert. Auch hiefür sind mir wichtige Beyträge zugesichert." Hans Georg Nägeli: Musik-Anzeige, in: *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* 20 (1826), *Intelligenzblatt* No. 1, January 1826, pp. 2 f., here p. 2.

66 "Das erste was ich gleich jetzt in Paris herauszugeben habe, ist ein großes Klavierwerk von Ries und eins von C. Czerny." Hans Georg Nägeli to Zetter & C. in Paris, [Zurich], 11 July 1822 (draft), CH-ZZ Ms Car. XV 197.23.1. Preparations however lasted for almost three years. In March 1825, Nägeli told Tobias Haslinger that the first two volumes of the "Ehrenpforte" would soon arrive from Paris: "kommt nächstens v. Paris an Ehrenpforte 1–2 Hefte (Ries und Czerny)". Hans Georg Nägeli to Tobias Haslinger in Vienna, [Zurich], 18. March 1825 (draft), CH-ZZ Ms Car. XV 196.23.

Quarante-neuvième | GRANDE SONATE | pour le Piano Forte | COMPOSÉE ET DÉDIÉE | à Madame Amélie Schott, | née Kirchhoffer de Vienne, | PAR | FERD. RIES | Op. 141. Prix 7 f. 50 c. | À PARIS, | Chez ZETTER et Comp.ie Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière N.o 3 | Propriété des Editeurs. 67. Déposé à la Direction (F-Pn Vm 12 24429)

SONATE | für das Piano-Forte | VON | CARL CZERNY. | Op. 124. | Zweites Heft der musikalischen Ehrenpforte. | Subscriptions-Preis 3 Groschen, Ladenpreis 4 Groschen p. Bogen. | Eigenthum der Verleger. | ZÜRICH bey Hans Georg NÄGELI u. Comp. | Noël sc[ripsi]t" (CH-Zsta VII.300:1 Schachtel 9 Mappe 28)

Sixième | GRANDE SONATE | POUR LE | Piano Forte seul | Composée par | CHARLES CZERNY. | Op. 124. Prix: 10 f. | À PARIS, | Chez ZETTER et Comp.ie Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière N.o 3 | 68" (F-Pn Vm 12 6994)

Notice the plural form "Eigenthum der Verleger" / "Propriété des editeurs" in the Ries sonata (in Czerny, the French counterpart is missing): Nägeli and the Parisian firm were partners in the enterprise. Notice also the French publisher's catalogue numbers, 67 and 68. While Nägeli usually did not assign a number to his editions, they are repeated on every page of the two sonatas as follows: "(Z. 67.) N.o 7" and "(Z. 68.) N.o 8".

In the draft of his first letter to Zetter, Nägeli had mentioned a plan to publish works by Johann Sebastian Bach under the series title "Oeuvres d'église de haute composition",[67] a plan that was apparently abandoned in favour of more recent contrapuntal works. The title pages of the five extant volumes of the "Contrapunktisten" series also carry the wording "Eigenthum der Verleger", though I was not yet able to find a copy with a different imprint. A "Z" number is missing, but there is a numbering at the bottom of each page continuing progressively after Czerny's No. 8.[68] Thus, I presume that they were also engraved and printed by Zetter and Company, though they did not take them over in their own publisher's catalogue.[69] According to Anton Reicha, who in June 1826 suggested Nägeli to contact them (apparently unaware of their common enterprise), they accepted to print music on behalf (and at the financial risk) of others:

67 Hans Georg Nägeli to Zetter & C. in Paris, [Zurich], 11 July 1822 (draft), CH-Zz Ms Car. XV 197.23.1.

68 The *Canone a due voci* by Franz Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee, for example, issued as volume 4 of the "Contrapunktisten", bears "N.o 12". The copy in CH-Zz Ms V 38,4 is available online on the e-rara platform.

69 Sebastian Zetter had actually retired from the business at the end of 1825 after only two years of activity, and the firm was continued by his partner Daniel Jelensperger, who died in 1831. See Devriès-Lesure/ Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Vol. 2, p. 429; on Jelensperger see the obituary in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 33 (1831), col. 531.

"These gentlemen are Germans and only deal with products that are not their own: they do not engrave at their own expense but on behalf of others. Their interest is therefore to sell what is entrusted to them. They are honest people with whom I myself have had many great works engraved at my own expense. Address yourself to their house; I believe that you will be satisfied".[70]

In April 1826, Nägeli was ready to pay 30 ducats to Czerny, who would soon send a new manuscript, of which unfortunately nothing is known.[71] A few months later, Nägeli asked Czerny in Vienna to help him find further contributors, particularly the Archduke Rudolph and Franz Schubert:

"I definitely count Schubert among the good, even excellent piano composers. I consider the first movement of his a minor Sonata (by Pennauer) [D 845, 1826] to be a capital piece. If you are personally acquainted with him, please assure him that I will gladly include him among the collaborators of the 'Ehrenpforte' as soon as the subscription is secured, to which he could also contribute."[72]

Nägeli had mentioned his wish to ask the Archduke for a contribution to the "Ehrenpforte" already in a letter to Beethoven, possibly from June 1825, but it is not known if he eventually asked him at all, and if so, what the reply was.[73] Upon Nägeli's invitation (via Czerny), Schubert accepted to provide a new sonata with a letter on 4 July 1826:

"Not only the favourable reception of this sonata but also your wish, which is most flattering to me, make me quite ready to satisfy your request as soon as you wish. In this case, I would have to ask you to pay me the fee, which consists of 120 fl. C. M., in advance in Vienna. By the way, it was very pleasant for me to be in correspondence with such an old and famous music publishing house."[74]

70 "Diese Herren sind Deutsche, und geben sich nur mit Producten ab die nicht ihr Eigenthum sind: sie stechen nicht auf ihre eigenen Unkosten: wohl aber für die Rechnung anderer. Ihr interesse ist daher das zu verkaufen was man ihnen anvertraut. Sie sind redliche Leute, bey welchen ich selbst auf meine Unkosten manche große Werke habe stechen lassen. Adressiren Sie sich an das Haus, ich glaube daß Sie zufrieden werden". Anton Reicha to Nägeli in Zurich, Paris, 6 June 1826, CH-ZZ Autogr. Ott, Reicha.

71 See Nägeli to Freiherr [Johann Friedrich Cotta] von Cottendorf, Zurich, 10 April 1826, CH-W BRH 124/8.

72 "Den Klavier-Componisten Schubert zähle ich entschieden unter die guten, ja vortrefflichen. Der erste Satz seiner A-moll-Sonate (bey Pennauer) halte ich für ein Capital-Stück. Sind Sie mit demselben persönlich bekan[n]t, so versichern Sie ihn, dass ich ihn sehr gern unter die Mitarbeiter der 'Ehrenpforte' aufnehmen werde, sobald die Subscription gesichert sey, wozu er wohl auch mitwirken kön[n]e." Nägeli to Carl Czerny in Vienna, Zurich, 18 June 1826, copy by Rudolph Hunziker, CH-W BRH MS 124/9 (original in A-Wgm).

73 See Staehelin: *Hans Georg Nägeli und Ludwig van Beethoven*, p. 56; Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 6, pp. 93–95.

74 "Nicht nur die günstige Aufnahme dieser Sonate, sondern auch Ihr mir höchst schmeichelhafter Wunsch, machen mich ganz bereit, Ihrem Verlangen, sobald Sie wollen, Genüge zu leisten. In diesem Falle müßte ich Sie doch ersuchen, mir das Honorar, welches in 120 fl. C. M. besteht, in Wien voraus anzuweisen. Übrigens war es mir sehr angenehm, mit einer so alten berühmten Kunsthandlung in

Requested to provide a new sonata for the "Ehrenpforte" in mid-1825, Carl Maria von Weber refused.[75]

As for the "Contrapunktisten", in his letter to Czerny of June 1826, Nägeli writes that "the current contributors are, in addition to your Mr. Sechter, Reicha in Paris & Schnyder in Frankfurt".[76] Indeed, five slender volumes were eventually published with works by Simon Sechter, Anton Reicha and Franz Xaver Schnyder von Wartensee.[77] Preserved correspondence with Sechter and Reicha concerning their publications dates between August 1825 and June 1826; Sechter accepted promptly and sent his manuscripts in February 1826 while Reicha was still choosing suitable pieces in June 1826.[78] This confirms that, by the summer of 1826, Nägeli had been promised all the music that was eventually published in the "Contrapunktisten" series. The contributions for the "Ehrenpforte" by Kuhlau and Moscheles announced in January 1826 and the new sonata by Schubert following the agreement in July never appeared. Why were both series discontinued?

The publication of the new series was connected with Nägeli's plans to move to Frankfurt, as he explains in his above-mentioned letter to Beethoven:

> "It had long been in my life's plan, when my sons had grown up, to expand my music business, for this purpose […] to establish a firm in Frankfurt, the capital of southern Germany, and then to appear with new publishing ventures, which would be for the present state of musical culture what a quarter of a century ago the *Werke der strengen Schreibart* and the *Repertoire des Clavecinistes* were."[79]

Correspondenz getretten zu seyn." Otto Erich Deutsch: *Schubert. Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, Kassel 1964, p. 365.

75 Carl Maria von Weber to Nägeli in Zürich, Dresden, 6 June 1825, CH-ZZ Ms Car XV 199,6a (copy by Hermann Nägeli).

76 "Die bisherigen Mitarbeiter sind nebst Ihrem Herrn Sechter, Reicha in Paris & Schnyder in Frankfurt". Nägeli to Carl Czerny in Vienna, Zurich, 18 June 1826, copy by Rudolph Hunziker, CH-W BRH MS 124/9 (original in A-Wgm).

77 See the list of products from Nägeli's publishing firm in Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 390–395.

78 Four letters from Simon Sechter in Vienna to Nägeli in Zurich are dated 7 August 1825, 30 November 1825, again 30 November 1825 (a note intended to be attached to the music manuscripts) and 4 April 1826, in CH-ZZ Ms Car. XV 193.12.1 (copy), Ms Car. XV 193.12.2, Ms Car. XV 193.12.3 and Autogr. Ott, Sechter, respectively. The letter from Anton Reicha in Paris to Nägeli in Zurich, 6 June 1826, is preserved in CH-ZZ Autogr. Ott, Reicha (a copy is in Ms Car. XV 190.32).

79 "Es lag längst in meinem Lebensplane, […] wenn meine Söhne herangewachsen seyn würden, […] meine Musikhandlung zu erweitern, zu diesem behuf ein […] Etablissement in Frankfurt, […] der Hauptstadt von Süddeutschland zu gründen, und dann mit neuen Verlagsunternehmungen aufzutreten, welche für den jezigen Stand der […] musik[alischen]. Cultur das wären, was vor einem ViertelJahrhundert die Werke der strengen Schreibart und das *repertoire des Clavecinistes*." Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 6, p. 93.

It is reasonable to conclude that later in 1826, when the idea of settling in Germany was abandoned due to missing financial support and to the failure of obtaining citizenship in Frankfurt, the new publication series were discontinued.[80]

8. "Ein ächter Schweitzer" I would like to conclude by underlining what I consider to be the 'Swissness' of Nägeli. Already Carl Friedrich Cramer noted: "I consider you to be a real Swiss, that is, an honest and righteous man".[81] Cramer identified 'Swissness' with morality in reference to the legendary moral qualities of the inhabitants of the Alps and, by extension, of the whole of Switzerland (there are no mountains in Zurich). But I propose to consider Nägeli typically Swiss in another way.

Acting on the periphery of the musical world, in a small country with reduced infrastructure for a music publishing enterprise, he made the best out of his position. He didn't attempt to build up a music engraving enterprise on his own but decided to rely on his excellent international network. On one side, he profited from the traditionally strong connections of Switzerland with Milan, providing the market north of the Alps with works by Milan-based composers such as Bonifacio Asioli, Francesco Pollini, Alessandro Rolla and Niccolò Zingarelli. On the other side, he specialised as a middleman between France and the German-speaking world, distributing French editions in Germany and publicising German composers in Paris. Offering Beethoven's piano sonatas to the French public was at the time (August 1803) a new and somewhat daring venture.

80 More details are provided by Hunziker: Hans Georg Nägeli, p. 633, and by Roner: *Autonome Kunst als gesellschaftliche Praxis*, pp. 257 f.

81 "Dabeÿ halte ich Sie für einen ächten Schweitzer, das heißt genug gesagt: für einen billigen und rechtschaffenen Mann". Carl Friedrich Cramer to Nägeli, Paris, 14 January 1807, CH-Zz Ms Car. XV 186.9.

INSTRUMENTS AND KEYBOARD PRACTICES

Michael Ladenburger

Beethoven's Early Approach to Different Types of Keyboard Instruments in Bonn and Its Lifelong Aftermath

Already as a child, Beethoven came in contact with different types of keyboard instruments and combination instruments – the clavichord, organ, harpsichord, Tangenten- and Hammerflügel; during his early Viennese years he would encounter still more types of keyboards, such as the newly invented Orphika.[1] Beethoven's beginnings coincided with a period of accelerated evolution in keyboard instruments, including experiments to give the harpsichord and organ the much-desired capacity for dynamic variety; thus, it seems plausible that this early exposure inspired Beethoven to took part in the continued evolution of the piano throughout his life.

The Mastiaux musical instrument collection and the Bonn keyboard-instrument maker Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler In Beethoven's youth, there were several talented keyboard players in Bonn. Court Counsellor Johann Gottfried von Mastiaux's home was the most prominent place for music-making in the home in Bonn. There were other places, too, like the homes of the von Hatzfeldt (also spelled Hatzfeld) and von Wolff-Metternich families, but we have only substantial information about the musical activities in Mastiaux's home. Beethoven was the half-a-year younger piano teacher of his talented daughter Amalia, a friend of Eleonore von Breuning, to whom we will come back later. Amalia, the youngest of Mastiaux's five children, who were all very talented musicians, was a very good keyboard player according to reports of contemporaries (including the prince-elector Maximilian Franz himself).[2] It is most likely that the young Beethoven was involved here and there in music-making in the home – alone or with colleagues of the court orchestra or with members of the Mastiaux family.

Beethoven had access to a lot of instruments in his youth. In addition to a remarkable collection of music – including 80 symphonies of Haydn and 50 piano concertos of different composers – the musical-instrument collection of Mastiaux surely impressed

1 This article is dedicated to Michael Latcham to pay tribute to his life-long, very fruitful research on keyboard instruments. – This is a revised English version of my article "Der Clavierinstrumentenbestand und -instrumentenbau in Bonn als Anregung für den jungen Beethoven. Auf den Spuren des Instrumentenbauers Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler", in: *Beethoven. Die Bonner Jahre*, ed. by Norbert Schloßmacher, Köln 2020, pp. 157–212. Further references may be found there.

2 See e. g. *Magazin der Musik* 2 (1787), pp. 1385 f. or a letter of Ferdinand Goebel to his father Franz, 7 July 1787, Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Sammlung Küsters, RW 1195, Nr. 56.

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the young Beethoven. According to Christian Gottlob Neefe's list in the *Magazin der Musik*, Mastiaux had several harpsichords built by the Ruckers and Couchet families in Antwerp.[3] Additionally, Mastiaux owned string instruments from renowned makers, including violins and a viola dated between 1662 und 1693 from Cremona masters Girolamo (Hieronymus), Antonio and Nicola Amati, Antonio Stradivari and Andrea Guarneri; one instrument in the collection was attributed to the best violinmaker in the German speaking countries, Jacob Stainer in Absam/Tirol and was said to be "if not authentic as good as the original ones made by him".[4]

But Mastiaux was also up to date and ordered a piano with a carillon (Glockenspiel), a newly-invented model called a pyramid (Pyramide) after its shape, built by the only – and until now nearly unknown – keyboard-instrument maker in Bonn, Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler.[5] In his article in the *Magazin der Musik* of 1783, Beethoven's mentor Neefe called this instrument maker both Riedeln and Riedlen.[6] This report and these incorrect spellings are mentioned in nearly every publication on Beethoven's Bonn years. The correct name is, however, Gottlieb Friedrich Riedler, whose life is only sparsely documented.[7] He may have come to Bonn from South Germany, where he was born nearby Tuttlingen in 1749. He worked in Bonn only for three years, from 1782 to 1785, as a harpsichord, piano and organ maker – his departure seems to have stemmed from his lack of success, and he even seems to have felt forced to disappear in a cloak-and-dagger operation because of bankruptcy (which we know from an announcement of the tribunal in the *Bönnische Intelligenzblatt* of 26 January 1786). This is an astonishing fact because other residences of prince-electors had gifted and very busy organ/piano makers, such as Koblenz, which had

3 "Ein Flügel von Andreas Rückers, dem ältern, de Ao. 1646. Ein grosser Flügel, von Joh. Rückers, de Ao. 1659. Ein Flügel, von Johann Couchet, de Ao. 1659. Ein Flügel von eben diesem Meister, de Ao. 1661. Ein grosser Flügel, von Joh. Peter Couchet, de Ao. 1664. Ein Clavichord, von Friderici. Ein grosses piramidenförmiges Hammerclavier, von Mechanicus Riedeln, woran noch ein Pedal, ein Glocken- und Pfeifenzug kommen sollen." [Christian Gottlob Neefe]: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle zu Bonn und andern Tonkünstlern daselbst, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 377–396, here p. 392.

4 "[…] wenn sie auch nicht ächt seyn sollte, den wenig ächten, die Stainer gemacht, doch nichts nachgiebt." Ibid., p. 393. All English translations by the present writer.

5 Ibid., p. 392. In circa 1780, the organ maker Peter Kemper moved from the Eifel region to Bonn. We don't know if he was at all involved in the manufacture of pianos as well. After the invasion of the French troops in 1794 and the end of the electorate, there was no call for any instrument maker in Bonn.

6 Ibid., p. 392 vs. p. 395. I refer to Neefe as "mentor" because it is a more general term and less specific than "teacher". We have nearly no concrete or documented information about his supposed role as a teacher for Beethoven. Franz Anton Ries was Beethoven's mentor and regular teacher and, from circa 1785, may have been more important for him than Neefe.

7 Record of his baptism, 19 May 1749, Parish register Aldingen 1749–1810.

Johann Peter Senft and his son Ignaz Joseph,[8] the latter of whom once worked with Johann Andreas Stein in Augsburg; and Mainz, which was the centre of Germany's square-piano production at that time.[9] At the Bonn court, however, there was only the obligatory *Saitenmacher* (producer of strings).[10] Riedler experimented with innovative designs for keyboard instruments such as the Pyramide;[11] it seems that he was more interested in building instruments of his own invention than in simply producing standard-model instruments.

Beethoven was certainly in permanent personal contact with him because Riedler was commissioned by Prince-elector Maximilian Friedrich in 1783/1784 to build a new organ in the Schloßkirche (Castle Chapel), which had burned down in 1777 and where Beethoven had served as second court organist since 1782. The contract didn't survive, but from another document we know that Riedler planned to build a big organ with 30 stops and had already received payments of 1000 Reichstaler when the prince-elector died in April 1784.[12] The Habsburg archduke Max Franz succeeded him. Although he was a great friend of music (as were all members of the Habsburg family), he cancelled the project, but not before Riedler had already constructed the organ case.[13] After his disappearance, and shortly before French troops occupied the Rheinland in 1794, another Bonn organ maker used Riedler's case to construct a seven-stop positive organ that would serve as a stopgap. The case (or a part of it) may have had the contour of a lyra.

Riedler was unique among the builders of organs and pianos in his day; while building both sorts of instruments was not uncommon, Riedler did not limit himself to a few standard models but rather experimented with many new forms.

Even if Riedler and Beethoven knew each other only for a short time, it seems that he contributed to Beethoven's lifelong interest in keyboard instruments and his professional discussions with Viennese piano makers later on.

8 See Rudolf Ewerhart: *Die Orgel- und Claviermacher Senft in Koblenz und Augsburg*, Tutzing 2011, esp. pp. 151–153.

9 See Michael Günther: Der frühe Tafelklavierbau im Gebiet des Mains und mittleren Rheins zwischen 1760 und 1790, in: *Geschichte und Bauweise des Tafelklaviers*, ed. by Boje E. Hans Schmuhl and Monika Lustig, Augsburg/Michaelstein 2006 (Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, Vol. 68), pp. 81–116.

10 See e.g. *Kurfürstlich kölnischer Hofkalender für das Jahr 1783*, ed. by J.[ohann] P.[hilipp] N.[erius] M. V[ogel], [Bonn 1782], p. 9.

11 Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 395.

12 Expert opinion of the privy councilor Andreas Isaac to President of the Court Chamber Johann Ignaz Graf Wolff-Metternich zur Gracht, Bonn, 20 July 1784. Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln II, Nr. 480, fol. 11–18.

13 See the announcement of the clerk of the Bonn court of justice in the *Bönnische Intelligenzblatt* of 11 October 1785.

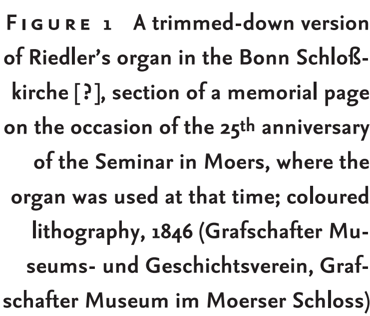


Figure 1 A trimmed-down version of Riedler's organ in the Bonn Schloßkirche [?], section of a memorial page on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Seminar in Moers, where the organ was used at that time; coloured lithography, 1846 (Grafschafter Museums- und Geschichtsverein, Grafschafter Museum im Moerser Schloss)

It should be mentioned in advance that none of the Riedler instruments in the Mastiaux collection survived or have been identified. But it is important to be aware that Riedler's attempts at innovation were appreciated, even if they were not technically mature. For example, in buying the aforementioned "large fortepiano with the shape of a pyramid made by mechanic Riedeln which will be supplemented by a pedal, a stop with carillon and a stop with pipes"[14] Mastiaux did of course take a risk. This situation is just the opposite of what we have experienced over the last 120 years with technically mature instruments like Steinway pianos, which lost many of the tone colours of historical instruments and have too heavy an action for relaxed and highly nuanced piano playing.

According to Neefe, Riedler built:

"1) Normal harpsichords.
2) Harpsichords with plectra from steel instead of crow or raven quill.

14 "Ein grosses piramidenförmiges Hammerclavier, von Mechanicus Riedeln, woran noch ein Pedal, ein Glocken- und Pfeifenzug kommen sollen." Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 392.

> 3) Particularly good instruments with newly invented hammers [It is unclear what this exactly means as Neefe provides no further description, but in this period, uncovered hammers or tangents were common and, when used with the moderator, produced the sound of instruments with covered hammers, which came later].
> 4) Combination instruments with plectra and hammers [which were common in Italy and Spain already at the beginning of the century].
> 5) Instruments with gut strings which are able to imitate the sound of 2 violins, viola, cello, double bass, and flute.
> 6) He did make an invention that keeps keyboard instruments in perfect tune irrespective of weather conditions.
> 7) An instrument which is able to transcribe the music while playing.
> Furthermore, he is skilled in building physical instruments and in the science of electricity."[15]

So far, all of the above is well-documented in the Beethoven literature.

Combination instruments and new inventions Let us have a look at similar instruments that have survived. Especially interesting is the combination harpsichord/piano (4) because it represents the gradual replacement of the proven and fully developed harpsichord by the piano and its new tonal/timbral variety, enabled by its novel technical possibilities with respect to touch and sound-generating registers (e.g. knee levers or pedals) in the late eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The ancestor of the harpsichord/piano combination was the Claviorganum (combination organ, virginal and regal) of the sixteenth century. An early vis-à-vis instrument already combining harpsichord and fortepiano was built by Jean Marius as early as 1716.[16] Concurrent with Beethoven's youth, John Geib and James Davis patented similar instruments in London in 1786 and 1792, respectively.[17] Later, Matthäus Müller in Vienna built vis-à-vis-instruments, too, but with two pianos. Such inventions allowed the completely forgotten art of

15 "1) Bekielte Flügel, nach der gewöhnlichen Art. 2) Flügel mit stählernen Federn, anstatt der Rabenfedern, und nach einer noch unbekannten Einrichtung. 3) Besonders gute Instrumente mit neuerfundnen Hämmern, von denen sich der Spieler alle Zufriedenheit versprechen darf. 4) Instrumente nach einer neuen Erfindung mit Federn und Hämmern zugleich. 5) Instrumente mit Darmsaiten, auf denen man die Wirkung von 2 Violinen, Viole, Violoncell, Contrabaß und Flöte hervor, bringen [sic] kann, und zwar mit aller Gemächlichkeit. 6) Hat er ein Mittel erfunden, die meisten Clavierinstrumente unverstimmbar zu machen, obgleich die Witterung sehr auf die Saiten wirkt. 7) Ein Instrument, auf welchem alles, was der Spieler spielt, in währendem Spielen durch einen besondern Mechanismus in Noten abgedruckt wird. Beyläufig gedenk ich noch seiner Geschicklichkeit, in Verfertigung verschiedner physicalischer Instrumente, und in der Wissenschaft von der Electricität." Ibid., pp. 395 f.

16 A vis-à-vis harpsichord from around 1700 is shown in an anonymous pen-and-ink drawing kept in the Bibliothéque nationale, Paris, see the illustration in Michael Latcham: *The Notebook of Johann Andreas Stein. Facsimile – Transcription – Translation*, Wilhelmshaven 2014, Vol. 2, p. 434.

17 Michael Latcham: *Towards a New History of the Piano. A Context for the Work of Johann Andreas Stein as a Piano Maker*, München/Salzburg 2019, pp. 245–248.

Figure 2 Johann Andreas Stein's vis-à-vis instrument combining harpsichord and fortepiano (Verona, Accademia Filarmonica/Museo di Castelvecchio; photo: Michael Latcham)

joint improvising to be resurrected. Best known are the combination instruments built by Johann Andreas Stein. He was highly respected in Bonn during Beethoven's youth.[18] A description of his "Poli-Tono-Clavichordium" – a harpsichord with four choirs of strings combined with a piano – appeared in the Augsburg *Intelligenzblatt* in 1769,[19] and Stein is known to have built vis-à-vis instruments in 1777 and 1783. Two of the latter have survived – one is now in Verona (Accademia Filarmonica/Museo di Castelvecchio) and the other one in Naples (Conservatorio di Musica "S. Pietro a Majella").

On one side of Stein's instrument there are three manuals, two of them for the harpsichord (upper manual: 8'; middle manual: 16', 2 × 8', lute stop, repetitive 4'/8'), on the lower manual one can combine all four harpsichord registers and the piano. On the opposite side of the instrument, one can only play the piano. Underneath the instrument we find a wire star layout action for the piano similar to the trackers in an organ. This is no surprise in the light of the fact that Stein was also an organ builder, as were many instrument makers of that time; for example, Gottfried Silbermann in Freiberg and Ignaz

18 See e.g. Christian Gottlob Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, [Bonn] 1785, p. 30.

19 See Michael Latcham: Franz Jakob Spath and the "Tangentenflügel", an Eighteenth-Century Tradition, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 57 (2004), pp. 150–170, here p. 160.

Kober, Ferdinand Hofmann and Johann Jakesch in Vienna all built both organs and pianos.

These combined instruments mark the transition from one type of keyboard instrument to the other, both in general and in detail. The hammers are still uncovered, that is, made of bare wood. As a result, the sounds of the harpsichord and piano are more similar – with respect to the overtone spectrum, for example – than they would be with covered hammers. We can hear it in a fascinating recording of Andreas Staier and Christine Schornsheim on the vis-à-vis that is now in Verona.[20]

Figure 3 Merlin's combination instrument with music-transcribing mechanism (Munich, Deutsches Museum, Inv. No. 43872)

20 Harmonia Mundi, France HMC 901941 (with a valuable booklet text by Michael Latcham).

Figure 3 shows the combination instrument of a harpsichord with a piano stop made by Jean-Joseph (also John Joseph) Merlin, London, in 1780.[21] Merlin's instrument combines the technical affordances of Riedler's instruments Nos. 4 and 7 in Neefe's list: in addition to the combined hammer/plucking mechanism, Merlin's instrument had a mechanism that uses lead pencils to transcribe the music as the instrument is played. The earliest known example of such a transcription mechanism was built by Johann Hohlfeld in 1753; in 1774, Johann Friedrich Unger presented the design for a similar mechanism to the Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, which he described as *Entwurf einer Maschine wodurch alles was auf dem Clavier gespielt wird, sich von selber in Noten setzt* ("Draft for a machine which automatically sets in score everything what is played on a keyboard instrument"). Whether Riedler had heard of or seen Hohlfeld's mechanism, Unger's design, or Merlin's instrument before moving to Bonn in 1782 is beyond our knowledge; it is also unknown if Beethoven may have come in contact with this apparatus during his concert tour in Berlin in 1796.

The search for dynamic flexibility and other tone colours Even for organs, creative makers tried to achieve dynamic flexibility long before the romantic organ with the crescendo pedal (Registerschweller) was invented in the middle of the nineteenth century. It's not clear whether Johann Andreas Stein really built his Melodica or only planned to do it.[22] In his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart described it as an organ stop which can be used in a harpsichord, piano or organ in order to produce a seamless crescendo from ***pp*** to ***ff*** and back according to the pressure on the keys; however, it is unknown if his description is based on personal experience with the instrument.[23] Not far from Bonn, an organ with a special mechanism for activating the registers was built in 1794 by Johann Christian Kleine, two years after Beethoven left the Rheinland. It has a so-called 'Forte – Piano coppel' invented by Christian Gottlieb Schröter. If one presses the keys of the Hauptwerk (great organ) only halfway, one plays only the stops of the positive (the second manual); if one presses down the keys completely, one plays both the stops of the Hauptwerk and posi-

21 Combination instruments were built in Italy and Spain, too, see Michael Latcham: The Combination of the Piano and the Harpsichord Throughout the Eighteenth Century, in: *Instruments à claviers – expressivité et flexibilité sonore. Keyboard Instruments – Flexibility and Expression*, ed. by Thomas Steiner, Bern 2004, pp. 113–152.

22 Johann Andreas Stein: Beschreibung eines neuerfundenen Clavierinstrumentes, Melodica genannt, in: *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* 13 (1772), pp. 106–116.

23 Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. by Ludwig Schubart, Wien 1806, p. 291.

tive.[24] This was a further step along the path from terraced dynamics to dynamic flexibility.

Attempts to create an extended variety of sound as well as volume and dynamic flexibility were also the aim of Georg Joseph Vogler's revolution in organ-building called the 'Simplifikationssystem'. Although swell boxes were built in England already in the 1720s, these did not appear on the continent before the early nineteenth century. Vogler's so-called 'Orchestrion' was no longer defined by the 'Werkprinzip' that originated in the Baroque area – a system of divisions that corresponds to a clearly visible section of the case – but arranged the manuals after the sound colour of the stops. And most important for our topic: he put all pipes in one big swell box, and by increasing or decreasing wind pressure, a crescendo or decrescendo became possible.[25] In his very successful concerts, he played his own works or improvisations like *Die durch ein Donnerwetter unterbrochne Hirtenwonne* (The shepherd's delight interrupted by a thunderstorm), in some respects a precursor of Beethoven's sixth Symphony.[26] An independent composition with the same title by Justin Heinrich Knecht was published by Bossler in Darmstadt 1793, who had previously published the first editions of Beethoven's so-called *Kurfürsten* (Prince-elector) Sonatas WoO 47 in 1783 and Knecht's *Pastoral* Symphony in 1785.

In the nineteenth century swell boxes became more and more common in organ building – a parallel of the swell mechanisms of harpsichords, which were only used for echo effects and not for seamless crescendo and decrescendo effects.[27] Later on, there were swell mechanisms in pianos too.

24 "Nach der Erfindung Schröters [in Nordhausen] kann man bei einerlei Registern [i.e., unchanged stops] auf der Orgel die angenehmste der Hauptveränderungen, nämlich das Sanfte und Starke, oder das Forte und Piano, ohne Umstände und dadurch hervor bringen, daß die Windlade so eingerichtet wird, daß der Wind in sie auf sieben verschiednen Wegen hinein geführt wird. Die Ladenventile werden nach sieben verschiedenen Windgraden herauf gedrükkt; und man höret bloß die schwächsten Stimmen, wenn man die Tasten schwach niederdrükkt; hingegen alle gezogne Stimmen, so bald man die Tastatur stark drükkt." Johann Samuel Halle: *Die Kunst des Orgelbaues*, Brandenburg 1779, p. 179. I am thankful to Johannes Geffert who made me familiar with this instrument and its mechanism. See Hubert Fasen/Walter Friehs: Archivfunde waren großer Glücksfall, in: *Barockorgel Eckenhagen. Abschluss der Restaurierung 2008*, Eckenhagen 2008, p. 18. This rarely installed mechanism has held up for an astonishingly long time. We still find it in the Weil organ of the protestant church in Rheinbrohl (built in 1869). Thanks to Hans-Wolfgang Theobald for that information.

25 Already on 2 September 1780, the organ maker D. Baerts advertised a "Machiene" in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* (p. 106) which can be added to an organ or harpsichord enabling *forte* and *piano*.

26 Vogler's invention was, at that time, on everyone's lips. A report about his Orchestrion was published in the same column as a report on the inauguration of King Gustav IV of Sweden on 1 November in the *Preßburger Zeitung* of 25 November 1796, p. 1194. Beethoven, who was in Preßburg (Bratislava) at that time, may have read it.

27 See Edward L. Kottick: *A History of the Harpsichord*, Bloomington 2003, pp. 375 f.

Beethoven may have known about all these experiments because the *Magazin der Musik* and other musical periodicals of the time – and occasionally even journals not devoted to music, like Christoph Martin Wieland's magazine for literature *Der Teutsche Merkur* (1773–1789) – were full of articles on new inventions in the field of musical instruments, especially keyboard instruments. Neefe knew some of these periodicals, to which he contributed from time to time. In the same volume of the *Magazin der Musik* as his report on musical life in Bonn, in which he mentioned the 12-year-old Beethoven for the first time, we find an article about a 'Bogenklavier'. It was an instrument with gut strings that were bowed; the bow was operated via keyboard. The maker was Johann Carl Greiner in Wetzlar, 130 km east of Bonn – the domicile of the Imperial Superior Court of Justice (Reichskammergericht) with good connections to Bonn. The Bogenklavier may have been invented in response to a desire among keyboardists to have the capability to play compositions for strings with an appropriate sound in this era of musical curiosity in which neither recordings nor radio broadcasts were available. The next step for Greiner was a so-called 'Bogenhammerklavier', a double keyboard instrument combining the Bogenklavier and a piano with steel strings and a down-striking action.[28] When such instruments were reviewed, the number of sound variations (Veränderungen) that players have at their disposal were always praised – the more, the merrier.

Already in 1751 Prince-elector Clemens August (reigned 1723–1761), a passionate keyboard player (and hunter) who even had a harpsichord in his sleeping-room, received "an indeed very rare Clavecin"[29] built by Franz Jakob Spath in Regensburg. Perhaps this was already a 'clavecin d'amour', which Spath had advertised in 1770, with a 'Tangentenmechanik' or a very simple hammer action which he called 'Pandaleon' (or a preliminary version of it).[30] The instrument for Clemens August was built as combination piano and harpsichord. In the context of this instrument, the term 'Pandaleon' may have referred to a simple action with uncovered hammers; additional stops included a flute stop (most likely consisting of pipes underneath the case), harp stop, lute stop, a double moderator for *piano* and *pianissimo*, a damper pedal and an *una corda* pedal.

Such instruments with flute stop were also built by Court Counsellor Peter Carl Bauer in Berlin. He called his version from 1768 the 'Royal Crescendo', a square piano with organ stop, four and a half octaves, six pedals ("Veränderungen") and a flute stop. In

28 [Anon.]: Instrumentenmacher. Instrumente, in: *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), pp. 650–683, here pp. 654–661, esp. pp. 657–661.

29 "in der That sehr rare[s] Clavecin". Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln VI, No. 708.

30 *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen auf das Jahr 1770*, ed. by Johann Adam Hiller, Leipzig 1770, p. 142. See also Latcham: *Towards a New History of the Piano*, pp. 135 f. and id.: Franz Jakob Spath.

1776 he built a so-called 'Crescendo', a piano in the shape of a pyramid with three pedals which made a seamless crescendo possible.[31]

In the same year as Riedler, Johann Peter Senft in Koblenz built a grand piano with a flute stop.[32] Peter Carl Bauer built combination instruments with carillons, which Andries Weltman in Paris installed in harpsichords and pianos. Of course, we can find carillons also in organs, as in the famous one built 1737–1750 by Joseph Gabler in the abbey of Weingarten.

A harpsichord for the home of Emanuel Joseph von Breuning Beethoven was also the teacher of Eleonore von Breuning, with whom he had a close friendship. Her father, the court counsellor Emanuel Joseph von Breuning, bought a first-class, double-manual harpsichord from the estate of Prince-elector Clemens August at an auction in May 1765. According to an inventory of the prince-elector's estate compiled in February 1765, there were two harpsichords: "N. 621 A grand instrument in the shape of a Sterzstück, with a case decorated with a painting of a hunting scene, with attendant green stand in parts gilded, with a music stand and gilded candleholder 300 Reichstaler" and "N. 622 dito also in the shape of a Sterzstück with a case grounded in black with painted flowers, attendant stand and a music stand and candleholder."[33] The term "Sterzstück" refers to a piece of meat from the tail of a cow or pig but also – and more relevantly here – to the shape of plough handles.[34] Ruckers, for instance, added a "St" for "Staartstuck" in front of the production number on the keyframe of his harpsichords in shape of a wing.

Breuning had to pay 153 Reichstaler for the second harpsichord. For comparison: the annual salary of Beethoven's father was 100 Reichstaler. As was usual at that time, both instruments were listed without the name of the maker or further technical details like stops, in the way one might describe a piece of furniture. In any case Beethoven may have given lessons to Eleonore (Figure 5) on this first-class-instrument.

31 See *Magazin des Buch- und Kunsthandels, welches zum Besten der Wissenschaften und Künste von den dahin gehörigen Neuigkeiten Nachricht giebt*, 1. Stück, ed. by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Leipzig 1780, p. 152.

32 Ewerhart: *Die Orgel- und Claviermacher Senft in Koblenz und Augsburg*, pp. 151–153.

33 "N. 621 Ein großes Instrument in Form eines steets stücks [Sterzstück], worauf die Jagd gemahlet, durchaus gefürnist, mit grün angestrichenem, und zum theil verguldetem Fuß sambt dazugehörigen Pulput [Pulpit], mit 2 verguldeten Leuchter. 300 Rtlr [and] N. 622 Ein dito in Form eines sterts stücks, worauf der grund schwartz, und Blumen gemahlet, mit zugehörigen Fuß, sambt Pulput und Leuchter 200 Rtlr". Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen, Duisburg, Rheinland department, Kurköln 11, Nr. 277, fol. 47v.

34 See the entry for "Pflugsterz", in: *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Das Wortauskunftssystem zur deutschen Sprache in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, www.dwds.de/wb/Pflugsterz (all weblinks in this article last consulted 12 October 2022).

Figure 4 Concerning the paintings on the case, a similar instrument built by Andreas Ruckers I with the date 1628 (Private collection in Salzburg, formerly in the Beurmann collection in Hamburg)

Figure 5 Eleonore von Breuning, seated at a piano or harpsichord, circa 1785 (anonymous painting, Beethoven-Haus Bonn, loan Karl-Oswald von Nell 1)

Search for tone colours in early compositions of Beethoven There are good reasons to assume that Beethoven sent his *Sechs Variationen über ein Schweizer Lied* WoO 64 to Eleonore in summer 1792 as a symbol of his connection to her and her family and as an attempt to apologize after a violent quarrel.[35] Were the variations "pour la harpe ou le Forte-Piano", which were published by Simrock in 1798 – presumably without knowledge of the composer –, composed for a recumbent harp (Liegende Harfe)? It is one of those keyboard instruments with a simple action but a lot of possibilities to change the sound using stops. The range of the recumbent harp was normally 4½ octaves (c2–f6), exactly the range of Beethoven's Variations.

Dynamic flexibility was then en vogue and of course by no means a perquisite of Bonn taste. But we have to point out that the 12-year-old composer, who was an unpaid member of the court orchestra for one year, already incorporated this idea in his *Kurfürsten* Sonatas, for instance in the ***pp*** passage in the development section of the first movement of the E♭ major Sonata, which may reflect the influence of the court orchestra.[36] Neefe spoke about dynamic flexibility in his aforementioned report published in the same year as the *Kurfürsten* Sonatas: he notes that the Italian "Capelldirector" Cajetano Mattioli (in his opinion a second Christian Cannabich, who was the highly recommended music director of the famous court orchestras in Mannheim and Munich) "observes the accentuation and declamation of the orchestral playing, and established the most accurate attention for Forte and Piano and the musical light and shadow in all gradations in the Bonn orchestra."[37]

Thus, compositions such as the *Sechs Variationen über ein Schweizer Lied* are completely misunderstood in our time. They do not focus on structural issues because they are neither written for Beethoven to present himself as composer/pianist nor for an especially gifted dilettante but presumably for a pupil. They are composed as a study in sound (and thus not appropriately playable on modern instruments). The aim was not to improve the technical abilities of the pianist and subsequently to impress the audience that way (there are no real challenges, even on a low level) but to achieve optimal variety of sound by a fanciful use of different stops. This is typical for Beethoven: there are always

35 Michael Ladenburger: *Für wen und für welches Instrument hat Beethoven die Sechs leichten Variationen über das Schweizer Lied "Es hätt' e' Buur e' Töchterli" WoO 64 komponiert? Eine Annäherung*, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1QxwYljhYTfGsJQiOD4TlZsHXN2r4BHgd/view.

36 At the top of the first page of music in the first-edition score, it says "Cembalo solo", but the title page ("fürs Klavier") makes it clear that it is written for piano, although "Klavier" was, in those days, still a collective term which included harpsichords and clavichords.

37 "Er hat zuerst die Accentuation oder Declamation auf Instrumenten, die genaueste Beobachtung des Forte und Piano, oder des musicalischen Lichts und Schattens in allen Ab- und Aufstufungen im hiesigen Orchester eingeführt." Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 377.

challenges, from his earliest compositions on; we only have to recognise and execute them.

There was a reproduction of the first page of the autograph manuscript of the A♭ major Sonata Op. 110 from 1821 in the invitation to the conference in Lugano.[38] This manuscript is the endpoint of a long development. Never did a musical score contain such detailed dynamic and agogic instructions. But at the same time, we must be aware that Beethoven respected the latitude of the performer (which is the reason why he never composed and published cadenzas for the public, for instance). For a long time, he gave no advice for the use of the *una corda* pedal or the moderator. The latter was very important when one used a Tangentenflügel or a piano with uncovered hammers. But we should be aware that this does not mean that an interpretation in 1783 was in principle less sophisticated or without subtleties. But with the increasing dominance of the piano in comparison with the clavichord and harpsichord, this more 'modern' instrument allowed more and more performance indications to be given, and those parameters became more and more constitutive for Beethoven.

The parallel use of clavichord, harpsichord, early piano and organ is reflected in his early piano music. One of the very few really remarkable discoveries of the Beethoven anniversary 2020 was the harpsichord player, fortepianist and organist Olga Pashchenko, who played the Sonatas WoO 47 on an anonymous fortepiano from around 1785 from the collection of Edwin Beunk.[39] If we encounter an artist as gifted as Olga Pashchenko and as familiar with all the different types of keyboard instruments, their appropriate playing technique, and historically informed performance practice while having studied Beethoven's own fingerings – which we know from a copy of the first edition kept in the British Library[40] –, then we are almost guaranteed to have a very special musical experience. This music springs to life. Its rhetoric jumps up at us and overwhelms us. When evaluated according to the criteria of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the pure compositional substance loses its central relevancy. The sound characteristics of the keyboards of Beethoven's time – with a high percentage of overtones due to thin strings, less string tension and a thin soundboard – underline the rhetorical approach of the music, which one cannot play appropriately on a modern instrument. Even a piano built after 1810 is inappropriate. When this music is heard on a period instrument with all its sound variety and transparency, the listener understands that the 12-year-old Beethoven

38 See the PDF programme on www.hkb-interpretation.ch/beethoven2020.

39 Edition Klavier-Festival Ruhr 39 (2020) Cat. No. 4260085533275, www.youtube.com/watch?v=EYQX1XLgFL0.

40 See Michael Ladenburger: Der junge Beethoven – Komponist und Pianist. Beethovens Handexemplar der Originalausgabe seiner Drei Klaviersonaten WoO 47, in: *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 3 (2003), pp. 107–117.

did not intend to compose pleasing music that showcases his talent but was trying from the very beginning to expand the boundaries of music and his own virtuosity. The Sonatas are really hard to play and show the unity of Beethoven as composer and pianist.

Instruments of Johann Andreas Stein in Bonn Really important for the young Beethoven was the fact that there were fortepianos of Johann Andreas Stein in Bonn, one in the possession of Countess Hortensia Hatzfeldt,[41] the grandniece of Prince-elector Maximilian Friedrich von Königsegg-Rothenfels. Born in Vienna in 1757 and well-trained by the best Viennese teachers, she was an outstanding singer and pianist.[42] Furthermore she was familiar with Mozart; under his direction she sang Elettra in the first Viennese performance of *Idomeneo* in the Palais Auersperg in March 1786.[43] Her brother-in-law was August Clemens Ludwig Maria Graf von Hatzfeldt, Mozart's "dear best friend" ("lieber bester Freund") for whom he wrote the violin solo part in the insertion aria K. 490, which was composed for the performance just mentioned.[44] Her other brother-in-law, Franz Ludwig von Hatzfeldt, was the unofficial but very active director of court music for the prince-elector Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal in Mainz from 1789 on.[45] It seems likely that he acted as agent in order to motivate the local *Hofmusikstecher* (court music engraver) Bernhard Schott to publish Beethoven's 24 *Variations on Vincenzo Righini's arietta "Venni Amore"* for piano in D major WoO 65 in 1791. Righini had visited Bonn in 1788, at which time he was the music director at the Mainz court. Righini was well-known by the countess because she had sung the role of Armida in the first performance of his opera of the same title in Vienna 1782. She may have even initiated the acquaintance between Beethoven and Righini in Vienna in 1787. It was surely not by chance that Beethoven dedicated his variations to Countess Hatzfeldt. We have to consider whether she was the dedicatee because she was a great pianist for whom these special variations were composed according to her pianistic abilities and the sound potential of her Stein piano and/or because she helped to arrange its publication in a publishing house with which Neefe seems to have had no personal contact (in contrast to Götz in Mannheim and

41 Neefe: Dilettanterien, p. 30.

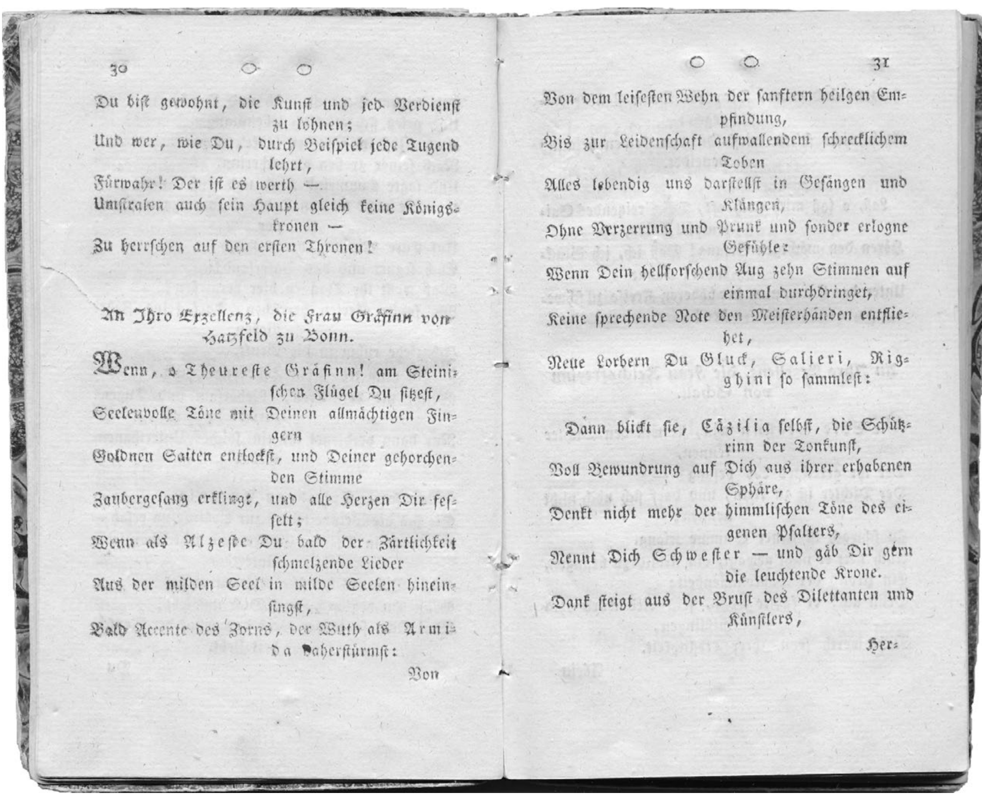
42 See [Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld]: *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag*, Wien 1796, p. 25 and Neefe: Nachricht von der churfürstlich-cöllnischen Hofcapelle, p. 387.

43 Ibid.

44 Michael Ladenburger: "*Ich denke dein*", *aber in welcher Form? Miszellen zu einem musikalischen Schabernack. Beethovens Lied "Ich denke dein" mit Variationen für Klavier zu vier Händen WoO 74*, https://drive.google.com/file/d/19EI-ug4OC6e7XNwn5gRVkBbn3IxccAro/view, p. 15.

45 Franz Stephan Pelgen: Neufund der Handakten zweier Mainzer Hofmusikintendanten im Staatsarchiv Breslau (Carl Philipp Graf von Ingelheim und Franz Ludwig Graf von Hatzfeldt), in: *Musik und Musikleben am Hof des Mainzer Kurfürsten Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal*, ed. by Axel Beer, Ursula Kramer and Klaus Pietschmann, Mainz 2021, pp. 37–76.

Bossler in Speyer, who published the *Nine Variations on a March by Ernst Christoph Dressler* WoO 63 and the *Kurfürsten* Sonatas WoO 47 in 1782 and 1783, respectively). Neefe wrote a poem about Countess Hatzfeldt, with whom he was familiar, mentioning her Stein piano and the soulful sound raised by her omnipotent fingers (Figure 6).



30

Du bist gewohnt, die Kunst und jed Verdienst zu lohnen;
Und wer, wie Du, durch Beispiel jede Tugend lehrt,
Fürwahr! Der ist es werth —
Umstralen auch sein Haupt gleich keine Königskronen —
Zu herrschen auf den ersten Thronen!

An Ihro Erzellenz, die Frau Gräfinn von Hatzfeld zu Bonn.

Wenn, o Theureste Gräfinn! am Steinischen Flügel Du sitzest,
Seelenvolle Töne mit Deinen allmächtigen Fingern
Goldnen Saiten entlockst, und Deiner gehorchenden Stimme
Zaubergesang erklingt, und alle Herzen Dir fesselt;
Wenn als Alzeste Du bald der Zärtlichkeit schmelzende Lieder
Aus der milden Seel in milde Seelen hineinsingst,
Bald Accente des Zorns, der Wuth als Armida daherstürmst:
Von

31

Von dem leisesten Wehn der sanftern heilgen Empfindung,
Bis zur Leidenschaft aufwallendem schrecklichem Toben
Alles lebendig uns darstellst in Gesängen und Klängen,
Ohne Verzerrung und Prunk und sonder erlogne Gefühle:
Wenn Dein hellforschend Aug zehn Stimmen auf einmal durchdringet,
Keine sprechende Note den Meisterhänden entfliehet,
Neue Lorbern Du Gluck, Salieri, Righini so sammlest:

Dann blickt sie, Cäzilia selbst, die Schützrinn der Tonkunst,
Voll Bewundrung auf Dich aus ihrer erhabenen Sphäre,
Denkt nicht mehr der himmlischen Töne des eigenen Psalters,
Nennt Dich Schwester — und gäb Dir gern die leuchtende Krone.
Dank steigt aus der Brust des Dilettanten und Künstlers,
Her-

FIGURE 6 **Christian Gottlob Neefe: *Dilettanterien*, [Bonn] 1785 (Archiv des Rhein-Sieg-Kreises)**

We don't know the date when she purchased the piano (and accordingly whether it had uncovered hammers or not); in any case, it was before 1785. Her sister Countess Franziska von Thurn und Taxis wrote an entry in Nannette Stein's *Stammbuch* in 1788. Countess Hatzfeldt may have played a major role in promoting Beethoven not only in Bonn before Count Waldstein arrived in 1788 but especially during Beethoven's first Viennese years, from 1792 on. She was part of the aristocratic musical life in her native city, perfectly networked as a member of the aristocracy – the daughter of Count Zierotin (Empress Maria Theresia served as godmother of Countess Hatzfeldt's own daughter Theresia) – and, at the same time, an active musician.

At the latest, on his way back from his first stay in Vienna, Beethoven became familiar with an instrument made by Stein with covered hammers when he visited Stein's work-

shop in Augsburg in April 1787.[46] Stein started with this improvement in 1783. It was a little revolution because the effect was until then only available by the use of the moderator, and now the sound differed much more from the harpsichord than before.

From the sheet music that was played in private circles in Bonn, nearly nothing is extant today. A very few manuscripts and prints survived, but not a single dedication copy of a first edition of Beethoven's early piano works from one of his Bonn patrons is known to exist. But there is one not-yet-scrutinised stock of music manuscripts attributed to the Hatzfeldt family, now in the Institute of Musicology at the University of Cologne (a few manuscripts are also located in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz).[47] It seems that not all manuscripts now attributed to Hatzfeldt once belonged together. Judging from the watermarks of the paper, we are able to see where and roughly when the manuscript copies were made. There are papers from mills in Basel and Kandersteg (used by the young Beethoven too) as well as others from the Scheven mill in Düren (60 km west of Bonn), some from South Germany and others which seem to have been ordered in Vienna. Only a very few of them have owners' signatures: "De Hatzfeldt" and "Ex Musicâ L. B. Clementis Augusti ab Hazfeldt 1757". Unless the date of the latter was a scribal error for "1775" (the others are from 1770 to 1772), it may go back to Countess Hatzfeldt's later husband Clemens August Johann Nepomuk Graf von Hatzfeldt-Schönstein.[48] It is lamentable (regarding our present topic) that the surviving sheet music consists mainly of excerpts from Italian operas, especially arias for soprano. Of the piano and piano chamber music repertoire, only a manuscript copy of one piano trio of Leopold Koželuh (with whom Countess Hatzfeldt was in personal contact) came to us.[49] Neither

46 According to an entry in the travel diary of Karl Bursy from 24 June 1816 and an entry in Beethoven's conversation book from September 1824, see Michael Ladenburger: *Beethoven auf Reisen* (Begleitpublikationen zu Ausstellungen des Beethoven-Hauses, Vol. 25), Bonn 2016, p. 59.

47 See https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/search?searchCategories%5B0%-12%5D=-1&q=Hatzfeld&View=rism&Language=en.

48 All arias are for soprano: Giuseppi Sarti: "Mai l'amor mio verace" from *Ipermestra* (shelfmark III 72 R), Paolo Scalabrini: "Se non posso" from *Demetrio* (III 73 R), Santo Lapis: "Io son eco alla tua voce" (III 88 R), Davide Perez: "Non vi fidate nò" from *Farnace* (P 82 R) and Baldassare Galuppi: "Più non si trovano" from *Olympia* (H 211 R), and in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Giovanni Battista Lampugnani: "Priva del caro bene" from *Tigrane* (Mus.ms. 12501/5) and "Son regina e sono amante" from *Didone abbandonata* (Mus.ms. 12501/8) as well as Niccolò Jommelli: "Pupille amabili" from *Tito Manlio* (Mus.ms. 11257/14).

49 Trio in A major Op. 21 Nr. 2 Postolka IX:8 (1786), Institute of Musicology of the University Cologne, shelfmark 6 38 R. Koželuch, perhaps one of her Viennese teachers, dedicated his *Three Sonatas for Piano* (the third for piano four-hands) Op. 8 to Hortensia Hatzfeldt (Torricella, Vienna 1784). Further dedications to her are Neefe's *Variations for Piano on the March of the Priests from Mozart's "Magic Flute"* (Simrock, Bonn 1793) and Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel's *12 Lieder* (Schott, Mainz 1789) and *Sonetto di Petrarca* (Kühnel, Leipzig 1808).

Figure 7 **The Ulrichsplatz in Augsburg, originally a coloured engraving (optical view) by Balthasar Friedrich Leitzel, Augsburg, circa 1780 (private possession Michael Latcham). The engraving is an accurate graphical representation (not laterally reversed) of the place when Beethoven saw it in April 1787. When Mozart made his visit in 1777, the fountain was not yet there. The second house on the left side is Johann Andreas Stein's.**

Hortensia nor her daughter Theresia was heir to her husband's estate as a 'Fideikommiss' recognises only male heirs; thus she may have used the scores and parts but only took her own collection – certainly containing a lot of piano music – when she left Bonn in 1794, moving back to her native Vienna after the death of her husband and in light of the invasion of the French troops.

Neefe and Simrock as dealer of keyboard instruments In Beethoven's Bonn years, his colleagues Christian Gottlob Neefe and Nikolaus Simrock dealt with keyboard instruments. Neefe sold clavichords from the workshop of the organ and piano makers Christian Ernst und Gottfried Christian Friederici in Gera.[50] Simrock, who mainly dealt with music, came from Mainz, at that time a centre for the manufacturing of square pianos. It's a pity that we have only in later years precise information about the assortment of Simrock, who had then close contacts to the Streicher family in Vienna. Johann Baptist

50 See Ludwig Schiedermair: *Der junge Beethoven*, Leipzig 1925, p. 69.

Streicher visited Simrock and his son Fritz[51] in December 1821 on his tour to Paris and London.[52] Although Bonn already had the new Prussian university for three years, the devastation of the complete cultural lockdown after the French occupation of the Rheinland and the end of the electorate seems to have still affected the cultural life there. According to Streicher's travel diary, Simrock had to bemoan: "There are no remarkable pianos in the region, and there is none in Bonn which I can see".[53] This was the result of the complete cultural lockdown after the occupation of the Rheinland by the French troops and the end of the electorate.

Keyboard instruments played by the young Beethoven outside Bonn In autumn 1783 Beethoven made the only concert tour of his youth, traveling with his mother to Rotterdam and 's-Gravenhage (Den Haag). Only in 1796 did he make a second and more extensive one to Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and – because of its success – to Preßburg (now Bratislava) and Budapest at the end of the year. He travelled once more to Prague in 1798 and to Budapest in 1800 for a concert with Johann Wenzel Stich, also known as Punto, the famous horn player. Apart from these, Beethoven seems to have preferred to avoid such very exhaustive tours.

On 23 November 1783, he played in 's-Gravenhage for Willem V, Prince of Orange-Nassau, governor of the Netherlands, and his wife Wilhelmine, who was a daughter of Prince August Wilhelm of Prussia and the sister of the later King Friedrich Wilhelm II, for whom Beethoven played in 1796; she was also the favourite niece of King Friedrich II, the Great. Beethoven got a reasonable payment of 12 ducats (approximately 63 guilders) from Willem V. We don't know which compositions he played or which instrument he used.[54] This concert, part of a series with changing guest soloists, was performed by the

51 His son of the same name became the publisher of Johannes Brahms.

52 Uta Goebl-Streicher: *Das Reisetagebuch des Klavierbauers Johann Baptist Streicher 1821–1822*, Tutzing 2009, pp. 91–95.

53 "Mit Clavieren sagte er, sey in dieser Gegend wenig zu machen; auch stund keines in Bonn, was ich hätte sehen können". Ibid., p. 91.

54 The payment order for the concert with the remuneration for each musician: Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386-01 (old nr. F 1, "Financien" No. 60), see the illustration in Ladenburger: *Beethoven auf Reisen*, p. 30. The order bears the signature of Count Sigismund Pieter Alexander van Heiden, the chamberlain of Willem V. It is possible that he was in personal contact with Caspar Anton van der Heyden, named Belderbusch, the omnipotent minister of state of Prince-elector Maximilian Friedrich in Bonn. It seems likely that he mediated the chance for Beethoven to play for the Stadhouder. His nephew Carl Leopold Freiherr von Heiden, also known as Belderbusch zu Monzen und Streversdorf, may have offered Beethoven's later mentor and violin teacher Franz Anton Ries a cheap travel opportunity in his company to Vienna in summer 1779. See Michael Ladenburger: A Four-Leaf Clover. A Newly Discovered Cello, the Premiere of the Ninth Symphony, Beethoven's Circle of Friends in Bonn, and a Corrected Edition of the Song "Ruf vom Berge" WoO 147,

viola player Carl Stamitz and ten musicians (string players, two hornists and a trumpeter), mainly from the orchestra of Willem v.[55] It seems likely that Beethoven played his own compositions to impress his audience. If he played together with the orchestra, it may have already been a first version of his first Piano Concerto in E♭ major WoO 4 (on this occasion without flutes or with the flute part played by another instrument). As no oboists are listed on the payment order, the piano concertos by Neefe (1781) and Andrea Lucchesi (1773) are by no means out of the question.[56] Carl Stamitz's Piano Concerto in g minor (only with strings) or one of his chamber music compositions are in the running but are rather unlikely.[57] Beethoven may have started to compose his first piano concerto for this occasion and reworked it after his return.

There are several additions and corrections in the only existing musical source, a solo part with the orchestral sections in piano reduction with indications mainly of the wind instruments.[58] But it is also possible that he played solo; in that case, he most likely performed one of the *Kurfürsten* Sonatas, which were published just at that time. In any event, as explicitly mentioned on the payment order, Beethoven played a piano. Willem v himself owned and played a dulcimer (Hackbrett), built in 1769 by Antonio Battaglia in Milan, now in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.[59] In the archive of Willem v, there are inventories of some of his palaces, dated 1763/1764. For a certain time, concerts were given almost weekly – and sometimes more often – in the Oranie Saal in Huis ten Bosch or – more exceptionally – in the 'Aan Hoof' in the Stadhouderlijk Kwartier (part of the Buitenhof), where Beethoven performed.[60] We only have an inventory of the Stadhouderlijk

in: *The New Beethoven. Evolution, Analysis, Interpretation*, ed. by Jeremy Yudkin, Rochester/Woodbridge 2020, pp. 50–77, here p. 73.

55 Michael Ladenburger: *Beethovens erster Konzertauftritt im Ausland –'s-Gravenhage (Den Haag), 23. November 1783*, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1zosm8vpviBPqWoaY8kIC3reh5xo66KfF/view.

56 Although Lucchesi's concerto is lost, we know from Breitkopf's thematic catalogue that the instrumentation included two oboes and two horns, see: Supplement VIII, 1773, p. 39 (*The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787*, ed. by Barry S. Brook, New York 1966, p. 519).

57 It would be astonishing if Beethoven's first piano concerto at the time of the first performance would not have been a work in progress, as was the case with Opp. 15 and 19. On the other hand, he may have decided at some point, driven by his strong self-criticism, to stop the project and to wait some years before starting a new one, when he was at a better basic level as composer. As we see from his symphonies, string quartets and the early attempt at a violin concerto (WoO 5), in this phase of his musical development, he handled the musical genres of capital importance with special caution and scruple regarding publication.

58 Corrected copy with autograph title page, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus.ms.autogr. Beethoven, L. v., Artaria 125.

59 www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/BK-NM-11430-20.

60 For further concerts see Rudolf Rasch: *Muziek in de Republiek. Muziek en maatschappij in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden 1579–1795*, Utrecht 2018. The series drew a number of other musicians with

Kwartier from 1763. It had a music room with "an upright harpsichord or Pantalon".[61] It may have been an upright piano in the manner of those attributed to Christian Ernst Friederici in Gera.[62] It's not clear whether it is the piano played by Beethoven. Maybe it was another one listed in another inventory but purchased after 1763.[63] There were additional keyboard instruments as we can see from the portrait of Princess Friederike Luise Wilhelmine of Orange-Nassau made by Johann Friedrich August Tischbein in 1788.[64]

Conclusion We know a lot about Beethoven's interest in piano making and development in his Viennese years. He had discussions with some of the leading piano makers (documented in his conversation books during his last ten years), and he gathered new instruments for friends. In 1796, a Streicher instrument which was given on loan to Beethoven for a concert in Preßburg was not returned to Streicher but was sold on the

whom Beethoven had close contact later on, including George August Polgreen Bridgetower, who appeared in 1789, and Franz Clement, who performed in 1791. Bernhard Anton Romberg, who met Beethoven during his time in the Bonn court orchestra, performed with his son Bernhard and his nephew Andreas 1779 in Amsterdam and Arnhem.

61 "Een Staende Clavecimbael of Pantelon". Archiv Willem V., Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 174.

62 See Latcham: *Towards a New History of the Piano*, p. 119.

63 The organ and harpsichord maker Andries Veltman invoiced the tuning (and sometimes small repairs) of the keyboard instruments at the end of each month "Pour avoir accorde le pijano [sic] forte de Son Altesse Serenissime pendant un Moi[s]" and separately "dix accoor au clavecin". The bills amount to 10 f (piano) and 20–30 f (clavecin), Archiv Willem V, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386. Veltman (circa 1730–1796) took up residence in The Hague and was registered on 30 November 1761 as reformed, unmarried organ and "clavecijmbal" maker. He had spent time in Paris and seems to be the aforementioned Weltman who presented a method of changing registers and making a crescendo (on a harpsichord?) using "genoullières" (knee levers) to the Académie des Sciences in Paris. See Alan Curtis: Dutch Harpsichord Makers, in: *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Muziek* 1963, pp. 61 f. I am indebted to Gerard Tuinman for this information.

64 Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, BX 1970.8.5. See the reproduction in Rasch: *Muziek in de Republiek*, p. 44. She was the eldest child of Willem V. It shows her at a square piano or clavichord. A piano was delivered by a person named Weber for 64 f billed on a settlement on occasion of the musical entertainment ("*Taffel musiek*") "op 3 Konings Abent" (on the eve of the Feast of Epiphany) on 5 January 1783 but presumably related to an earlier event, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 386, account of 13 January 1783. Music played an important role in the family, as can be seen from the fact that Willem's older sister Karoline of Orange-Nassau-Diez was in personal contact with Mozart, who dedicated his six piano sonatas K. 26–31 to her. She informed her brother occasionally about the musical development of her children and music-making within the home, during which they played on "clavecin", see letter of 3 March 1780, Koninklijk Huisarchief, Den Haag, A 31 inventory number 463.

spot for a higher price because Beethoven had played on it.[65] The foundation for Beethoven's interest was laid in his youth – mainly in Bonn but also in Augsburg and elsewhere –, and these early experiences had already been reflected and precipitated in his first works for what would become his instrument, the piano.

65 See, for instance, Beethoven's letters to Johann Andreas Streicher, [Wien, August/September 1796], (No. 22), resp. Preßburg, 19 November 1796, (No. 23), in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996/1997, Vol. 1, pp. 31–33.

Tilman Skowroneck

Beethoven and the Split Damper Pedal

This paper is about a construction of the damper mechanism found in a number of surviving pianos by Anton Walter from around Beethoven's first decade in Vienna. Instruments from that time, of course, have a special importance not only for the performance practice of Beethoven's earlier works for piano, but also because he would have used some variety of them in his public and private concerts. They are the tools that shaped his early experience and fame as a pianist.[1]

Although the title calls this mechanism a 'split damper pedal', I am here addressing divided knee levers, not foot pedals. The act and practice of 'pedalling' refers to the operation necessary to operate whichever mechanism is present in a piano to allow the player to lift the dampers (called 'the pedal' for the sake of simplicity) as a whole, in sections, or to varying degrees in order to create an undamped sound.

I will begin with a description of the divided knee lever followed by a very short summary of what we know about contemporary pedalling practice. Next, I will discuss a comment about *not* using the split pedal that Beethoven wrote in the autograph of the *Waldstein* Sonata Op. 53, and I will conclude by discussing some repertoire examples to explain its possible use and general usefulness.

In most early pianos by Anton Walter (i. e., instruments with a keyboard range of five octaves), the damping is operated with levers with symmetrical arms that are let into the bottom board under the front edge of the instrument. These levers come from both sides, are mounted in an axle bearing about halfway along their length, and meet in the middle of the instrument, where their respective ends emerge just far enough below the level of the bottom board to be easily operated with the knee. Pressing the levers up in the middle results in lowering their outer ends. The outer ends are in turn attached to another pair of levers hidden in each side of the instrument that press upwards on the rail that holds all the dampers. The damper rail is of one piece (in contrast to some instruments from other schools or builders that have divided damper rails for bass and treble), but the design allows for tilting it slightly, making it possible to operate only a section of it.

The instruments in question date from between 1782 and 1796; their other characteristic is that their sound-altering stop – called the moderator – is not operated with the

1 I took an earlier stab at this topic in Tilman Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 208–215. My presentation in this paper avoids arguing from a position of musical textures that are 'asking' for the use of specific pedal constructions but rather highlights the possibilities an instrument has to offer, to be used by the player at will.

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knee but by means of a hand-operated stop in the middle of the nameboard, just above the nameplate. The moderator works by inserting tabs of a soft material such as cloth between the hammers and the strings, resulting in a softer, more veiled tone.

The use of two knee levers for the damping was previously known from Johann Andreas Stein's pianos, but here, the levers were usually connected where they meet in the middle. No matter which knee a pianist chooses to use, all dampers in such an instrument would lift simultaneously, thus freeing all the strings at once and creating an undamped sound, like the right pedal in a modern piano.[2] In Walter's pianos of the kind considered here, however, the knee levers are not permanently connected; they merely overlap in the middle (Figure 1).

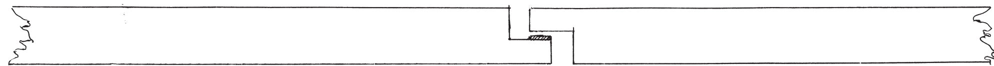

Figure 1 Sketch of Walter's knee-lever overlap, as seen from the player's position

When the left knee is used to push up the left lever, it makes contact with the top edge of the right lever arm, and the entire damper rail, from bass to treble, is pushed up. But the right arm – the treble arm, so to speak – can be operated alone. If it is pushed up, the damper rail is tilted and lifts only in the treble.

Looking at a list of surviving Walter pianos published by Michael Latcham, the four earliest pianos originally had hand stops for operating the dampers.[3] The knee levers that today can be found in these instruments are later additions, even if they may well have been Walter's own work.[4] Of these four instruments, the most famous one from 1782 that belonged to Mozart soon received knee levers of the overlapping "all-or-treble-only" kind, as described above. These were in place in the piano until 1955.[5] To avoid confusion,

2 Michael Latcham: Mozart and the Pianos of Johann Andreas Stein, in: *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (1998), pp. 114–153, here p. 128; id.: Zur Frage der Authentizität und Datierung der Klaviere von Anton Walter zwischen 1780 und 1800, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 48 (2000), pp. 114–145, here p. 122; id.: *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Change and Contrast*, Munich 2016, pp. 80 f.

3 Leonardo Miucci has kindly informed me about a recently-found Walter sold by auction in July 2021 to the Bechstein Stiftung of Berlin. It is in its unaltered original condition and has one hand lever and one hand stop.

4 Latcham: *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, p. 453, and the table on p. 499. At least with respect to Mozart's piano, Latcham's description of "a single" knee lever replacing the hand stops is not correct.

5 Ulrich Rück: Mozarts Hammerflügel erbaute Anton Walter in Wien, in: *Mozart Jahrbuch* (1955), pp. 246–286, here p. 251 (thanks to Michael Latcham for pointing out this description).

I should mention that the knee levers presently found in this instrument, which are occasionally mentioned in the literature, are clearly a replacement from *after* 1955, as the overlap in their present state is inverted: today, either the entire damper rail can be lifted at once by pushing up the *treble* lever, or the *bass* alone can be lifted separately.[6]

At least two of three slightly later Walter pianos from or around 1789 (in Latcham's nomenclature: "Rosenburg", "Poznan" and "Austria"), have overlapping knee levers of the kind that I initially described: the levers either lift the full damping or the treble.[7] Of three other instruments from between 1789 and 1796 that are listed as having hand moderators and knee-operated dampers, one has the same overlapping arrangement, as the remaining two likely have as well.[8]

On the basis of the surviving instruments, it seems that Anton Walter began to consistently construct the knee levers in his pianos in a new and different way from around 1796. Now one knee lever operated the moderator, and the other lever lifted the entire damping.[9] This construction does not allow for tilting the rail and lifting only the treble. Walter's new arrangement seems to have quickly become the most common one in Viennese grands around 1800, and it is certainly the most common one we encounter in modern Walter copies.

Returning to the overlapping knee levers, the various positions of the dampers on the strings can be seen in Figure 2: In the third position depicted here, the treble is completely freed of the dampers, whereas the middle register receives a kind of 'half-pedal' effect, and the bass remains completely damped. The functionality of this construction is enhanced by the way the dampers are constructed in the triple-strung treble area of the instrument, which usually begins at b4, going all the way to the top note f6. These dampers are flat pads of soft leather, while further down, the dampers are leather-covered wooden wedges seated between the strings. Lifting the treble dampers only ever so slightly is enough to create a full pedal effect between b4 and f6.

6 David Rowland: *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling*, Cambridge 1993, p. 18. Rowland was at the time clearly unaware of other overlapping knee levers by Walter and called the (inverted, non-original) construction in Mozart's piano a "curiosity". See also Siegbert Rampe: *Mozarts Klaviermusik. Klangwelt und Aufführungspraxis*, Kassel 1995, p. 48.

7 See Latcham: *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, p. 461 for a correct description of the "Poznan" piano, and p. 462 for the *incorrect* description of the "Austria" piano's knee levers. "Austria" has overlapping knee levers (my personal observation).

8 Ibid., pp. 468, 499. The piano identified as "Briosco I" has the overlapping knee levers. Michael Latcham (personal communication 23 February 2021) could not recall with certainty whether the knee levers from the remaining two instruments (from "Group IV") were perhaps instead linked together, in the style of Stein; however, since not a single description of linked knee levers can be found in the material about Walter, the chance seems rather slim.

9 Ibid., tables p. 496 for dates and p. 499 for the construction.

FIGURE 2 Above: Front view of the damper rail in a copy of a piano by Anton Walter, knee levers disengaged, all dampers lowered on the strings. Middle: Both sides of the damper rail raised. Below: Only the treble end of the damper rail raised. The changeover from damper wedges in the lower region to damper pads in the triple-strung treble is clearly visible.

How does this information relate to Beethoven? Beethoven's pedalling practice has attracted a fair amount of attention. One reason is that he did not indicate the pedal at all in any of his published works before 1801, in spite of the fact that he – in Carl Czerny's famous words – "used the pedals very often, far more frequently than indicated in his works."[10] Assuming that this includes the early works, we have to rely on secondary information and informed reasoning as to when and how to use the pedal in these works.

Luckily, since the basic effect created by lifting the dampers has not changed since the first appearance of the pedal in early pianos, some of its original applications will not have been too earth-shatteringly different from modern ones. Take the sustain of a bass note, for instance: the earliest surviving evidence for Beethoven's pedal use is a sketch showing his preparations for a church service during Holy Week, likely in 1792 (the organ was silent during Holy Week, hence the use of a piano). It indicates specifically the use of a knee, by implication in order to operate the knee lever, for raising the entire damping and sustaining the bass. This example supposedly mirrors Beethoven's experience with the pianos by Johann Andreas Stein, such as those the Bonn court at the time reportedly owned. As mentioned above, Stein's knee levers were linked together so that it does not matter which knee is used to create the intended effect. Figure 3 shows the transcription from the *Kafka Sketchbook* edition.[11]

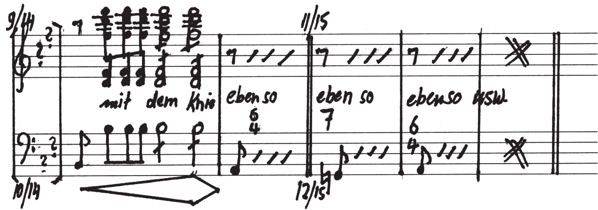

FIGURE 3 **Beethoven's handwritten instructions to use the knee lever for bass sustain, circa 1792; transcription from the facsimile**

This example consists of an extended 'oom-pah-pah' texture where the bass note is sustained during a series of identical chords. The harmony changes in every bar, as indicated by the continuo figures 6-4 and 7. The knee lever is pushed up "mit dem Knie" (with the knee) to make this effect possible. This is repeated "ebenso" (in the same way) in the following bars.

Another example of Beethoven's use of the knee levers comes from a sketch from 1796: under a *pianissimo* restatement of a motif in thirds in the right hand, he wrote the

10 "Der Gebrauch der Pedale war bey ihm sehr häufig, weit mehr, als man in seinen Werken angezeigt findet." Carl Czerny: Anekdoten und Notizen über Beethoven 1852, in: *Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke*, ed. by Paul Badura-Skoda, Vienna 1963, pp. 13–22, here p. 22. English translations are mine.

11 *Ludwig van Beethoven's Autograph Miscellany from ca. 1786 to 1799 (The "Kafka" Sketchbook)*, ed. by Joseph Kerman, London 1970, Vol. 1, fol. 96r.

words "mit dem Knie-Schieber" (with the knee-pusher).[12] In this example, lifting the dampers serves to create a specific sound colour; we will have to keep this function in mind because it bears on one of the possible uses of the treble-only pedal that I am considering here.[13]

If there can be little doubt that the pedal can be used, or rather, should be used in all of Beethoven's repertory, no matter whether it is indicated or not, the question remains *when* and *how* we apply the pedal – the 'when' addressing the kind of passages that require some kind of sustain, or that seem in need of the pedalled sound colour, and the 'how' the frequency of changing and re-taking the pedal and the question of rhythmical pedalling versus syncopated pedalling.

Following research on historical pedalling practices by David Rowland, we believe today that keyboardists of the early second half of the eighteenth century may occasionally have treated the damper pedal not unlike one would use stops in an organ or a harpsichord. Instead of changing the pedal at every change of harmony, one distinguished between some sections of music that were pedalled, imitating the undamped 'pantalon', or hammered dulcimer, and other sections that were not pedalled, as one would have played them on harpsichord, clavichord or organ. This seems to be supported by the fact that, as mentioned before, some pianos initially only had hand stops to operate the dampers. One only can engage and disengage these stops when one is not playing; quick changes of pedal at every shift of harmony are out of the question.[14]

It is, however, not so much this knowledge about mid-eighteenth-century practice than our growing awareness of the possibilities of French and English pianos with foot pedals towards the end of the century that helps explain a central feature of Beethoven's written pedal indications, namely the rather sparing use of pedal changes, especially in his earliest works with notated pedal. The newest French style of playing, and especially the rather liberal use of these pedals in the music by composers like Daniel Steibelt, seem to have been Beethoven's model here. For instance, both the first movement of the *Moonlight* Sonata Op. 27/2 from 1801 and the last movement of the *Waldstein* Sonata Op. 53 from 1804 feature long pedalled stretches over changing harmonies without retaking the pedal. These passages used to be seen as idiosyncratic effects, which are for the modern pianist somewhat uncomfortable. As it appears, however, they are Beet-

12 Ibid., Vol. 1, fol. 82r, line 6/10. For dating these examples, see Barry Cooper: The Ink in Beethoven's 'Kafka' Sketch Miscellany, in: *Music and Letters* 68 (1987), pp. 315–332, here pp. 322, 331. There is another indication "dämpf[u]ng" in a sketch for the Concerto Op. 15, see *Ludwig van Beethoven's Autograph Miscellany*, Vol. 1, fol. 138v, line 3.

13 For more early examples, see Leonardo Miucci: Beethoven's Pianoforte Damper Pedalling. A Case of Double Notational Style, in: *Early Music* 47 (2019), pp. 371–392, here pp. 380 f.

14 Rowland: A History of Pianoforte Pedalling, pp. 5–102.

hovenian representations of typical late eighteenth-century French-inspired pedalling practice.[15]

Thus equipped, we can address Beethoven's works that lack pedal indications and try to find passages that might call for using the damper pedal. One example from David Breitman's recent book about playing on period pianos illustrates this point. This is the opening of the Sonata Op. 2/3 (Figure 4). Breitman writes about this passage:

> "I play the opening, with its Mozartean mix of slurs and dots, as 'classically' as possible, without any pedal. […] Measure 13 makes a clean break, with maximum contrast in dynamic, register, rhythm, and texture. The new material is also typical *pedal* music: tremolos and arpeggios prolonging a single harmony […]; I pedal it as heavily as possible – on some fortepianos, in the right acoustic, from measure 12 to measure 20 without changing."[16]

Figure 4 Beethoven: Sonata Op. 2/3, movement 1, bars 1–20

So, following Breitman's example, and depending somewhat on the concert hall and the instrument, the pianist could push up the knee lever (or, on a later piano, press down the foot pedal) in the middle of the second line and simply keep the dampers up all the way to the end of this example. Of course, such solutions always remain personal to some degree, even within a historically informed framework. Regardless, the consensus today seems to be that the pedal can be used freely in Beethoven's works, but not in a too finicky or small-scale way, no matter whether it is indicated or not.

15 David Rowland: Beethoven's Pianoforte Pedalling, in: *Performing Beethoven*, ed. by Robin Stowell, Cambridge 1994, pp. 49–69, here pp. 60, 64; for a new practice-oriented angle, see David Breitman: *Piano-Playing Revisited. What Modern Players Can Learn from Period Instruments*, Rochester 2021, pp. 98–101.

16 Ibid., p. 113.

There are no indications at all in Beethoven's music that suggest the use of any kind of split pedal. But we have one example where Beethoven specifies that the split pedal should *not* be used. This example is important, because it comes from a point in time when Beethoven's use of the pedal changed from knee levers to foot pedals, and it is from the first sonata in which he provided extensive pedal indications – the *Waldstein* Sonata Op. 53. In the right margin of the first page of the autograph, Beethoven wrote the following words: "Nb. Where ped. is indicated, the whole damping of the bass as well as of the treble is lifted. O means that it is to be dropped again."[17] This note is comparable in style to Beethoven's instruction printed on the first page of the *Moonlight* Sonata, to lift the dampers throughout the first movement. Obviously, to mention the intended use of the damper pedal in the *Waldstein* Sonata in this specific manner mattered to Beethoven at the moment when he prepared the autograph, so it is beside the point that his note did not make it into the published version of the sonata, unlike the instruction for the *Moonlight* Sonata.

Beethoven's *Waldstein* split-pedal note has been known for a long time and a number of Beethoven scholars have attempted to explain it, occasionally accompanied, however, with some chronological fuzziness. One instrument that we, for example, do *not* need to invoke to make sense of this note is Beethoven's Broadwood grand piano from 1817. The Broadwood does, in fact, have a split foot pedal that operates a split damper rail, but, of course, it has nothing whatsoever to do with the situation of 1804. In acknowledgement of this circumstance, William Newman writes that the *Waldstein* note shows that Beethoven knew about the concept of the split damper pedal "at least fifteen years before he got the Broadwood piano".[18] But this way of putting it somehow suggests that the split pedal would have been particularly modern in 1803. As we know, this is not the case: apart from the split knee lever about which I am talking here, split pedals that operated split damper rails are known, for instance, from many square pianos back from the time when hand stops were the only means of operating the dampers.

One could believe that Beethoven's *Waldstein* pedal note means that he simply disliked the split pedal. There is no reason to believe this to be true, at least if we understand the note as a specific indication reflecting both the properties of the piano he was actually using at the time and the character of the musical textures in the *Waldstein* Sonata for which he prescribes the use of the pedal. The sonata was composed between the autumn

17 "Nb: wo ped. steht wird die ganze Dämpfung sowohl vom Bass als Dißkant aufgehoben, O bedeutet daß man sie wieder fallen laße." Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Sammlung H. C. Bodmer, HCB Mh 7. www.beethoven.de/en/media/view/5660448623951872/scan/0 (last consulted 25 March 2021).

18 William S. Newman: Beethoven's Pianos Versus His Piano Ideals, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1970), pp. 484–504, here p. 494.

of 1803 and the spring of 1804. Beethoven was exploring the possibilities of his newly arrived Érard piano while sketching the sonata.[19] This instrument has no knee levers but a total of four foot pedals, one each for the moderator and bassoon stops, the una corda, and the damping. The damper pedal is the second one from the left. It can most easily be reached with the left foot, preferably in a rather pointed shoe. On the Érard, lifting the "whole damping of the bass as well as of the treble" by depressing this pedal is the only available option.

Apart from reflecting the state of affairs in late 1803 in Beethoven's study, the note also makes musical sense: all the indicated pedalling effects in the *Waldstein* Sonata – they all appear in the last movement – are meant to support single bass notes on downbeats and to collect the harmony (or clashing successive harmonies) present in the following treble textures (Figures 5, 6 and 7). A pedal that only lifts part of the dampers, no matter which way, would always make the other one of these two intended effects impossible.

FIGURES 5–7 **Beethoven: Sonata Op. 53, movement 3, bars 1–14, 102–113, and 250–257**

19 Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, pp. 85–116.

Apart from spelling out the mutual match between his writing and the damping option of his piano, Beethoven's note warns pianists against using a feature their piano *might* have (but his Érard does not have), namely a damping device that would allow for operating parts of the damping separately (no matter its exact design).[20] This is to say, the note has everything to do with the specific musical texture of the *Waldstein* Sonata, but it tells us nothing about how Beethoven would have played anything else on a piano that actually did have split knee levers, say, five years earlier.

This leads us back to Czerny's statement that Beethoven used the pedals "far more frequently than indicated in his works": if we do not know exactly when he used the pedals in these works, we also have little idea of how he took advantage of the variety of ways some of these pedals could be used, depending on the piano at hand. We do, however, know of the existence of instruments that Beethoven would have played, like Walter's pianos; instruments that had certain features, like the split knee lever. The order of his words in the *Waldstein* note, to lift "the bass as well as the treble" (i. e., to lift not merely the treble but the bass, too), does suggest that he had a typical order of events in mind when operating divided dampers – the most natural order, in fact, of operating Walter's overlapping split knee lever.

We can imagine the instrument presenting itself to Beethoven, inviting him to explore and make use of its various features. This is not the traditional image where musical inspiration forces the pianist-composer to search for musically sensible solutions and where the piano is expected to serve him like a kind of toolbox of possibilities. Rather, the piano, with all its features, is already there, offering its possibilities: "Try this; use that lever; listen to this effect!"

My image of how the instrument offers its possibilities to the player is, in fact, based on my own experience as a harpsichordist with one historical Walter piano from around 1790 and two modern Walter copies with split knee levers.[21] There are two things that jump out at the clavichord and harpsichord player who is new to such an instrument: first, the even lighter and shallower touch and the different kind of dynamic control; and second, the question, "How do these gadgets work?" Trying out the hand stop-operated moderator and the knee levers is really one of the very first things one does on such an instrument.

20 We should remember that the split knee lever as I described was built into Walter's early pianos, whose keyboard range would have been too small for the *Waldstein* Sonata in any case.

21 Latcham: *Pianos for Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven*, p. 462. I grew up playing the "Austria" piano from Latcham's list. It was originally owned by the Austrian archduke Johann (Beethoven's pupil Rudolph's brother). The family moved from Florence to Vienna in 1790 when Johann was eight years old, so it was likely his learning instrument.

The split knee lever is an especially perfect candidate for exploring this idea of the instrument showing the way. Teachers like Andreas Streicher recommended operating the knee lever for the damping close to the middle of the instrument, where "the merest contact causes it to lift".[22] The treble part of the split knee lever is operated with the right knee; lifting the entire damper rail would have to be done with the knee of the left leg, which is not the dominant leg for most people. The treble half of the damper rail is easier to lift than the whole rail; it is responsive and easy to operate with precision. Other than that, however, the use of only the treble part of the damper pedal is not in any way different from using the whole pedal. There is, in fact, no indication that Beethoven, if he indeed used the damper pedal more often than indicated, did *not* use the split knee levers whenever he encountered them in an instrument – that is, used them in the manner they were intended, by either fully or partially lifting the damper rail to achieve one or the other musical effect.

So what effect are we talking about? The treble-only-pedal enhances the sound of the treble through sympathetic vibrations; it maintains a reasonable degree of distinction in the middle register and full clarity in the bass. An improvising musician who, for example, wants to add a halo to the treble textures without making everything else muddled and indistinguishable would benefit from using this pedal. So would someone who wanted to give a singing character to the cantilenas in composed music and who perhaps owned an instrument with a dry or weak treble.

The act of enhancing the treble of a dry piano by using a device that could be found in some – but not all – instruments does not lend itself to coverage in performance-practical textbooks, and so the split pedal was bound to fall through the cracks of the performance-practical record. Yet, the examples above do depict literal performance *practices*, things that can be done every time someone sits down at an instrument and decides to engage with its entire interface, not just its keyboard.

It is now that we can turn to Beethoven's works and try to identify some passages that might benefit from using the split pedal. One example is treble melodies in octaves over a rather busy left hand (Figure 8).

This kind of texture is fairly common in Beethoven's works for five-octave pianos from the mid-1790s onward, from Op. 7 until Op. 22 and then somewhat less frequently until Op. 31/2. As soon as there are leaps in the octave line, of course, such passages become difficult to perform literally *legato*, as notated, even when using finger substitutions. This problem could be solved by using a modern pedalling approach, that is, using

22 "[…] weil das leichteste Anrühren ihn schon in die Höhe hebt." Andreas Streicher: *Kurze Bemerkungen über das Spielen, Stimmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von Nannette Streicher geborne Stein in Wien verfertiget werden*, Vienna 1801, p. 11.

Figure 8 Beethoven: Sonata Op. 10/1, movement 1, bars 115–137

the entire pedal with frequent syncopated changes. If we instead use the full pedal for the entire phrase in a would-be historical manner, as described earlier, the left hand in my example would become muddled and incomprehensible. Such phrase-long pedalling would, however, be perfectly possible in this example if we lifted the damper rail only in the treble. One would only need to change the pedal at the end of each phrase (Figure 8, the first rest towards the end of the first line, and in the middle of the second line). Depending on how well the damping is set up and regulated, the left-hand notes might still receive a slight blur, but they would remain distinct and would not overwhelm the melody. The majority of legato passages with melodies in octaves in Beethoven's works from the aforementioned period can be realised more literally, as notated, and with less effort with regard to fingering by lifting only the treble part of the damping. And as we have seen, the split-damper-pedal effect is not only most compellingly helpful in these passages, but it is also in agreement with our ideas about historical pedalling insofar as it allows for longer stretches of unchanged pedal.

Some practical tests of the split pedal in a variety of passages unlock its surprising versatility. In the second subject of the Allegro of Op. 10/2, for example, the melody in octaves and chords, which begins rather low, leads to a *crescendo* with *sforzatos* notated on the c in bar 21 and the top f in bar 24 (Figure 9).

When trying to play these dynamics literally on a Viennese piano, we often risk forcing the tone unless we use the pedal. Lacking a split pedal, one would have to re-take the pedal rather often to prevent the left hand from becoming blurred. When played with the split pedal, treble part lifted, the melody would sound legato as indicated, the *crescendo* would be available, and there might be a half-damped effect in the middle register, but the left hand would be clear, and no frequent pedal changes would be necessary. There are myriad other passages where the use of the split pedal may perhaps not seem *essential* but where it invites its use almost in a casual way. My personal favourite is the *pianissimo* passage that begins on the upbeat of bar 115 in the opening Presto of Beethoven's Op. 10/3

FIGURE 9 Beethoven: Sonata Op. 10/2, movement 1, bars 1–29

(upbeat to bar 300 in the recapitulation). The possibility provided by the split-pedal instrument to create a momentary change in atmosphere by playing the passage "mit dem Knie-Schieber", but without having to change the tonal character across the entire range of the piano, is utterly compelling.

Robert Adelson

Beethoven's Érard Piano: A Gift After All

"The brothers Érard of Paris have *given a gift* of a mahogany piano to Beethoven (as they did earlier to Haydn)."[1] This was how the diplomat August Griesinger (1769–1845) described Beethoven's acquisition of grand piano No. 133, sent by the Paris firm Érard frères in the summer of 1803.[2] The wording of Griesinger's letter, written only a few months after Beethoven received the instrument, is unequivocal, and the notion of a gift was repeated by Beethoven and others in subsequent years.[3] This gift narrative, however, has come under attack in recent years following the discovery of a number of sales ledgers from the Érard firm. In 2005, the musicologist and pianist Maria van Epenhuysen Rose argued that the ledger entry for Beethoven's piano demonstrated that Beethoven had not received the piano as a gift but rather had ordered the piano and then perhaps never paid for it.[4] Rose's article has been remarkably influential in Beethoven scholarship; virtually everything written about Beethoven's pianos in the past fifteen years has repeated its conclusions, treating the 'gift myth' with disdain.[5] Some musicologists have even expounded on Rose's conclusions, speculating that Beethoven intentionally misled Griesinger in an act of self-aggrandisement fuelled by his jealousy of Haydn.[6]

1 Emphasis added. "Die Brüder Erard in Paris haben dem Beethoven (wie früher dem Haydn) ein Geschenk mit einem Fortepiano von Mahony gemacht." Letter of 14 December 1803 from August Griesinger in Vienna to Härtel in Leipzig, in: *"Eben komme ich von Haydn …". Georg August Griesingers Korrespondenz mit Joseph Haydns Verleger Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799–1819*, ed. by Otto Biba, Zürich 1987, p. 216.

2 The piano left the Érard workshop on the rue du Mail sometime on or after 8 August 1803, arriving in Vienna by October. Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 93. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

3 Letters of 18 September and November 1810 from Beethoven to Andreas Streicher, in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996/1997, Vol. 2, pp. 153 and 168. See also Charles Bannelier: Les instruments historiques à l'Exposition universelle de Vienne (1873), in: *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5 September 1875, p. 284.

4 Maria van Epenhuysen Rose: Beethoven and his "French Piano". Proof of Purchase, in: *Musique, Images, Instruments* 7 (2005), pp. 110–122.

5 See, for example, Tilman Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 85–115.

6 Rose and organologist Michael Latcham concur that as soon as Beethoven saw Haydn's Érard piano, he was overcome with jealousy. Rose: Beethoven and his "French Piano", pp. 114 and 118; Michael Latcham: The Development of the Streicher Firm of Piano Builders Under the Leadership of Nannette Streicher, 1792 to 1823, in: *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850*, ed. by Beatrix Darmstädter, Alfons Huber and Rudolf Hopfner, Tutzing 2007, pp. 43–71, here pp. 54 f. Rose and Skowroneck also insinuate that the Érard firm subsequently lied about the history of Beethoven's piano for commercial purposes. Rose: Beethoven and his "French Piano", pp. 119 f.; Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, pp. 86 f.

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Rose's conclusions are plausible insofar as one limits one's analysis solely to the ledger entry for Beethoven's piano. However, when this entry is considered in the context of the entirety of the Érard firm's business transactions, as well as the bookkeeping practices of the firm and several newly discovered documents in the Érard family archives, it becomes clear that the piano was indeed a gift from the Érards to Beethoven, although perhaps not for the reasons that had previously been assumed.[7]

18 therm.dor 11
M.r Bethowen Claviciniste à
Vienne D.t L 1500 p V.te du piano
en forme de Claveçin N° 133 . . . . 1500 . .

Figure 1 **Ledger entry for the gift of Beethoven's grand piano. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 93. All figures in this article: Fonds d'archives Érard, Pleyel et Gaveau, Musée de la musique, Paris © Cité de la musique/Philharmonie de Paris**

As a starting point for this discussion, it will be useful to summarise briefly Rose's arguments, which are both textual and historical. Her textual argument consists of an interpretation of the ledger entry for Beethoven's piano, which reads: "18 *therm.*dor 11 / M.r *Beethowen Claviciniste à* / *Vienne* D.t L 1500 *p* V.te *du piano / en forme de Claveçin* N° 133". ("18 thermidor year 11: M. Beethowen, harpsichordist in Vienna, owes 1500 francs for the sale of a harpsichord-shaped piano, No. 133")[8] – see Figure 1. Central to Rose's argument are the abbreviations for the words "*Doit*" (owes) and "*par vente*" (by sale of), and the presence of the price (1,500 francs), all of which seem to suggest that the piano was ordered. Moreover, the right-hand credit column, where normally payments are recorded, is empty, implying that Beethoven did not pay for the piano (Rose does not mention a faint letter "N" in the credit column, which will be discussed below). Rose supplements her textual analysis with a historical argument: the Érard firm would have had no reason to give a gift of a piano to Beethoven because in 1803, Beethoven's music was largely unknown and unappreciated in France. In the following analysis, I will first address Rose's textual concerns, then the historical question.

7 At the time *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp* was published, I had not yet determined that Beethoven's piano was given as a gift, and therefore provisionally accepted Rose's theory. See *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785–1959*, ed. by Robert Adelson, Alain Roudier, Jenny Nex, Laure Barthel and Michel Foussard, 2 vols., Cambridge 2015, p. 19, footnote n. 70.

8 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), p. 93. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris. Jean-Baptiste Érard identifies Beethoven as merely a "harpsichordist in Vienna", a description that attests to the absence of a clearly defined pianistic *mentalité* in France as late as 1803.

Textual evidence for the gift Beethoven cannot be considered a delinquent customer because the Érard firm had a clear and consistent way of notating the fact that a customer did not pay his or her bills, and this notation for non-payment is conspicuously absent from the entry for Beethoven's piano. To understand how the Érards notated non-payment, one must first understand how they recorded normal paying transactions. Each entry in Érard's sales ledgers is spread across two pages: the left page consists of a column entitled "Debit" ("*Doit*") and the right page a column for "Credit" ("*Avoir*"). On the day of a transaction, the customer was charged in the debit column with the price of the instrument, minus any eventual discounts that might apply. The same day, or several days later, Jean-Baptiste Érard (1749–1826) (who was primarily responsible for the bookkeeping) noted in the credit column the first payment that came in, the date and the mode of payment (for example, cash, bill of exchange or trading in an older instrument) – see Figure 2.

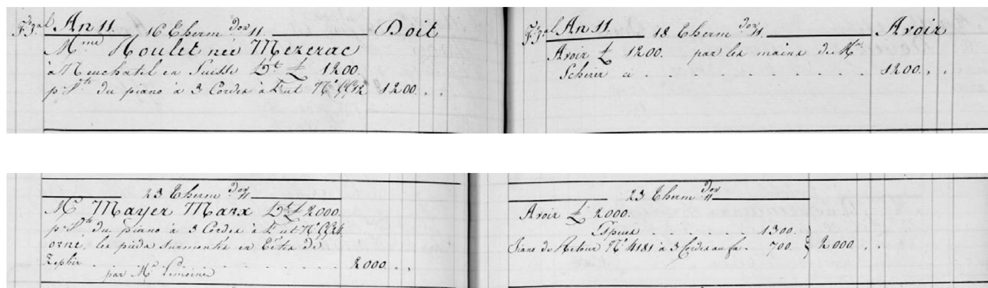

FIGURE 2 Examples of normal piano sales in the Érard ledgers. The top entry shows a customer who paid entirely in cash; the bottom shows a customer who paid partly in cash and partly through exchange of an older piano. In both cases, the payment was made within days of the sale. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 93.

If the first payment was not for the entire sum, there might be additional payments, and the transaction was considered fully settled when the amount in the credit column equalled the amount in the debit column. Jean-Baptiste occasionally added the word "paid" ("*soldé*"), especially in complicated situations involving many instruments sold to dealers, but this was not a systematic practice.

The Érards generally did not allow customers to leave their shop with a piano or a harp without having paid for it or having made arrangements for payments. Similarly, they did not send instruments abroad without first obtaining assurances of payment. Problems with non-payment almost always arose in situations involving credit, which usually took the form of a *traite*, or bill of exchange, ordering a third party (often a banker) to pay the amount by a specified date – see Figure 3.

FIGURE 3 An example of a piano bought on credit in the Érard ledgers. The customer made a down payment of 200 francs in cash and paid the remaining 1,000 francs with a bill of exchange that came due a little over a month later. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 6.

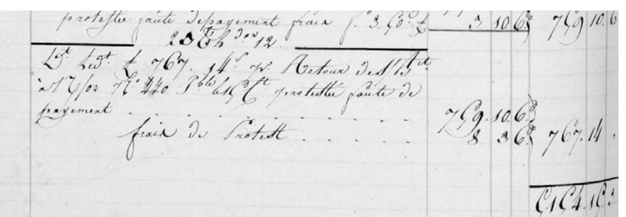

FIGURE 4 A notation of non-payment in the Érard ledgers. Jean-Baptiste Érard wrote "complained about non-payment" ("*protesté faute de payement*") and added a penalty for overdue payment ("*frais de protest*") to the customer's account. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 17.

Occasionally this third party refused to honour the bill when it came due because they had not received the funds from the customer – similar to a 'bounced cheque' today. When this happened, Jean-Baptiste would write in the debit column "complained about non-payment" ("*protesté faute de payement*"). He would often add a penalty for overdue payment ("*frais de protest*") to the customer's account; in later ledgers, he would write "debt outstanding" ("*créance*") in the debit column[9] – see Figure 4. None of these notations for non-payment are present in the entry for Beethoven's piano.

The Érard firm also had several ways of indicating gifts in the sales ledgers, two of which are present in the entry for piano No. 133 sent to Beethoven. The most common way of recording a gift was to note the theoretical price of the instrument in the debit column, leaving the credit column blank.[10] As we have seen, normally, the credit column

9 The *protêt* (written "protest" by Jean-Baptiste) was the legal complaint for a non-payment of a bill of exchange.

10 For examples of gifts indicated by a credit column left empty, see: Érard sales ledger (1790–92), folios 2, 20, 21, 28, 29, 42, 51, 69 and 73, N° inv. E.2009.5.98, Musée de la musique, Paris; Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folios 88, 112, 115, 119, 129, 134, 136, 139, 162 and 174, N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris; Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folios 223, 247 and 269, N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris. There are also many examples of this practice in the Érard sales ledger June 1787–May 1789, N° inv. D.2009.1.82, Gaveau-Érard-Pleyel archives, property of the AXA insurance group. On at least one occasion, Sébastien Érard gave a customer a handwritten "*bon*" ("gift certificate") instructing his workers on the rue du Mail to give the customer a piano upon remittance of the paper, which was then glued in the sales ledger. See Érard sales ledger (1824–33), folios 119 and 134. N° inv. E.2009.5.106, Musée de la musique, Paris.

was filled in right away with the payment or the arrangements agreed upon for payments. An empty credit column thus meant that from the beginning the Érards were not expecting any payment for the instrument; in other words, it was a gift. One never finds the indication "complained about non-payment" paired with an empty credit column, only with prior payment agreements that went awry.[11]

Indeed, when one makes a list of the customers with empty credit columns, the result is not a sort of rogues' gallery of delinquent musicians who did not pay their bills. On the contrary, the result is a list of Érard family members, their close friends and certain highly respected figures; in other words, people deserving of gifts. For example, when the Érard firm sent pianos *gratis* to Jean-Baptiste Érard's daughter Céleste (1790–1878) and her husband, the composer Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851) in Berlin, the ledger entries showed the theoretical price in the debit column and nothing in the credit column[12] – see Figures 5a and 5b. An identical procedure was followed for several pianos that the Érards gave to the family of Pierre Érard's (1794–1855) closest childhood friend, the composer Louis-Joseph-Ferdinand Hérold (1791–1833)[13] and for the pianos given to the pianist and composer Hélène de Montgeroult (1764–1836) and to Joachim Lebreton (1760–1819), *secrétaire perpétuel de la classe des Beaux-Arts* at the Institut de France[14] – see Figure 5c. Perhaps the clearest example is the piano the Érards gave to Suzanne le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau (1782–1829), daughter of Louis-Michel le Peletier (1760–1793), who was elevated to the status of martyr of the Revolution after his assassination.[15] The orphaned

11 Occasionally Jean-Baptiste created a new ledger entry to summarise several past refused bills of exchange for the same customer, and that new collective entry was sometimes paired with an empty credit column, but the original sales to which the grouped entry refers do not have empty credit columns. See for example, Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 235. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

12 See, for example, Érard sales ledger (1824–33), folios 228 and 231. N° inv. E.2009.5.106, Musée de la musique, Paris. The Érard family correspondence contains numerous references to instruments sent as gifts to Céleste.

13 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 119. N° inv. E.2009.5.100. Sébastien was a close friend of the Alsatian-born pianist and composer François-Joseph Herold (1755–1802), father of Ferdinand. When François-Joseph died on 1 September 1802, the eleven-year-old Ferdinand was on holiday with the Érard family in Sèvres. See Arthur Pougin: La Jeunesse d'Herold [sic], in: *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 47 (1880), pp. 138–140 (2 May), 145 f. (9 May), here pp. 140 and 146. The Érard family archives contain a touching series of letters from Ferdinand Hérold to various members of the Érard family, attesting to his close friendship with them over many years.

14 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folios 167 and 129. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

15 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 88. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris. For more on Suzanne le Peletier, see Jennifer Heuer: Adopted Daughter of the French People. Suzanne Lepeletier and Her Father, the National Assembly, in: *French Politics, Culture & Society* 17/3–4 (1999), pp. 31–51.

Figures 5a–c Grand pianos given as gifts to Érard family members and friends. From top to bottom: Céleste Érard, Gaspare Spontini and François-Joseph Herold. N° inv. E.2009.5.106, folios 228 and 231; N° inv. E.2009.5.100, folio 119.

Suzanne had become a *cause célèbre*, was officially adopted by the French nation and given the title "daughter of the state". It would be difficult to believe that the empty credit column after her name indicates anything other than a gift bestowed upon this young woman who had become a famous object of national sympathy.

It should come as no surprise that in the above examples of ledger entries for gifts, we still find the theoretical price of the instrument given. The inclusion of this price, whether it be for gifts or sales, was essential for good bookkeeping in the event that the Érard firm would need to balance their accounts. Similarly, we also note the presence of the indications "owes" (the abbreviation "D.t" for "*doit*") and "for the sale of" (the abbreviation "p V.te" for "*par vente*"), even with respect to gifts. These words were part of the formulaic syntax of ledger entries, consisting of: date, name and location of customer, "owes", price, "by sale of", type and serial number. The words "owes" and "by sale of" were the fixed elements in the ledger entry, repeated mechanically line after line. They should not be taken literally, as the Érards did not bother changing them in the case of gifts.

Another kind of 'gift' offered by the Érard firm was a partial waiver of sums due. After entering one or more amounts in the credit column, Jean-Baptiste would often make a calculation of these payments in the margin, and when he determined that the amount paid was sufficiently close to the amount due, he would mark in the credit column a letter "N", meaning "*Néant*" (void) or "*Non-porté*" (not charged against the corresponding entry

in the debit column).[16] This "N" indicated that the customer had paid enough and that the remainder owed would be forgiven. For example, in 1801, the Érards sold to a Mademoiselle Nolette a square piano for 1,200 francs, for which she made an initial payment of 506 francs and 5 sous. After she made a second payment of 506 francs and 5 sous, Jean-Baptiste added up these two amounts in the margin of the ledger and decided that the remainder, which he calculated to be 188 francs, was small enough, so he added an "N" to indicate that he waived the balance due[17] – see Figure 6.

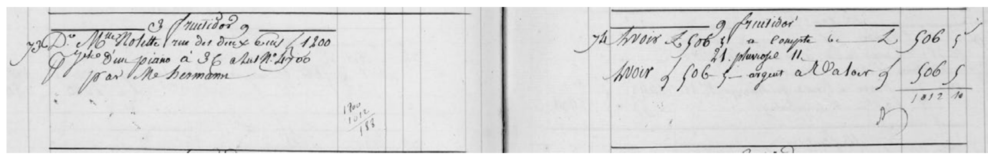

FIGURE 6 The "N" mark in the right-hand credit column used to indicate a partial payment waiver for $\mathrm{M^{lle}}$ Nolette. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, folio 112.

FIGURE 7 The "N" mark in the right-hand credit column used to indicate a partial payment waiver for Bertini. N° inv. E.2009.5.103, folio 84.

The Érards were often more generous when it came to writing off remaining debts owed by musicians. For example, in 1810 Clementi's famous pupil Auguste Bertini (1780–1856) acquired a piano that was valued at 2,400 francs for the discounted price of 1,800 francs. In the credit column, Jean-Baptiste calculated the sum of seven commissions earned by Bertini on sales of Érard pianos over the four preceding years. As the sum of these commissions was 1,152 francs, Jean-Baptiste wrote an "N" to waive the balance of 648 francs[18] – see Figure 7.

16 Jean-Baptiste began using the "N" in the ledgers in 1802 and continued until 1813. In his family correspondence and in the firm's ledgers, Jean-Baptiste wrote the letter "N" in different ways: in a simpler style, or with a flourish (as in the ledger indications for gifts). See for example, the name "Nicodami" and the word "Novembre" in Érard sales ledger (1811–16), folio 83. N° inv. E.2009.5.105, Musée de la musique, Paris: https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/Default/doc/SYRACUSE/60/ (consulted on 25 June 2023). Jean-Baptiste probably did not use the "N" to signify "Nul" (annulled), as he usually wrote out this word in full in the rare instances where an entire transaction was annulled. See, for example, Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 95. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

17 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 112. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

In 1812, when the composer Julie Candeille (1767–1834) paid for her grand piano, Jean-Baptiste realised that she still owed 1,008 francs for a square piano she had bought five years earlier. After rounding off her debt to 1,000 francs and totalling up partial payments and credits to her account, he wrote an "N" in the margins to waive the remaining 530 francs due.[19]

Sometimes gifts were given simply because the Érards realised that the customer was not able to pay and that initiating a recovery procedure would be fruitless. For example, in 1804, a customer with little means named Henrion purchased a square piano worth 1,200 francs. The Érards allowed him to take the instrument home after only paying a twenty percent cash down payment and agreeing to remit the remainder due in four bills of exchange dated one month apart. As time passed, however, each of Henrion's bills was returned unpaid, and Jean-Baptiste noted "complained about non-payment" and added late fees to his account. After the fourth and final bill was refused for payment, Jean-Baptiste accepted the fact that Henrion would not pay and that the small cash down payment was all they would ever collect from him. He therefore wrote an "N" on each returned bill to indicate that the matter was closed.[20] Henrion's case demonstrates that forgiven debts and gifts could be two sides of the same coin: in the first instance, it was the customer's failure to pay that resulted in the waiver of payment whereas in the second, it was the generosity of the seller.

In certain instances, Jean-Baptiste would reinforce the notion of a 'gift' by combining several different bookkeeping indications. In particular, for many gifts in the period 1802–13, he developed a habit of using the "N" for added emphasis in empty credit columns to indicate that he was not expecting any payment in return for the instrument. This practice was frequently used when giving instruments to musicians or music teachers. In these cases, he would usually note in the debit column the full price of the instrument, sometimes followed by the reduced price (as teachers and artists received discounts of up to twenty-five percent), and then in the otherwise empty credit column he would add the "N" to indicate a gift.[21] For example, in 1804 the Érards gave a gift of a square piano to the pianist Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785–1849), noting the full price of

18 Érard sales ledger (1809–16), folio 84. N° inv. E.2009.5.103, Musée de la musique, Paris.

19 Several months later, when Candeille recommended a customer for a piano, Jean-Baptiste added a theoretical 100 francs commission to her already settled account. Érard sales ledger (1809–16), folio 143. N° inv. E.2009.5.103, Musée de la musique, Paris.

20 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folios 169, 173, 178, 184 and 190. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

21 When the Érards gave instruments as gifts to foreign musicians, they often did not bother noting a discounted price; since these distant musicians were usually not aware of this practice, the discount would have been merely theoretical.

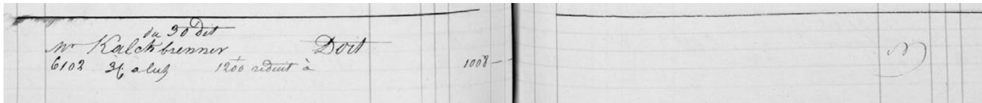

Figure 8 The "N" mark in an otherwise empty credit column used to underscore the nature of the gift for Kalkbrenner. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 186.

1,200 francs, the reduced price of 1,008 francs and then indicating "N" in the empty credit column[22] – see Figure 8.

In 1808, when the Érards gave gifts of a grand piano and a harp to their pianist friend Daniel Steibelt (1765–1823) and his wife Catherine Dale (1778–1825), Jean-Baptiste used the "N" mark, adding the word "given" ("*donné*").[23] Jean-Baptiste sometimes used multiple gift notations when the Érards gave instruments to friends or notable figures who were not necessarily musicians. For example, when in 1802 Sébastien Érard (1752–1831) gave a square piano to his former benefactress, the Duchesse de Villeroy (1731–1816), Jean-Baptiste added the phrase "payment waived" ("*avoir par abandon*") in the credit column.[24] Similarly, when in 1810 Sébastien gave a decorated square piano to his "excellent and worthy friend", the watchmaker Abraham Louis Bréguet (1747–1823), Jean-Baptiste added the inscriptions "given" ("*donné*") and "to Mr Bréguet out of general esteem" ("*à Mr Bréguet par divers considération* [sic]".[25] In 1808, on the recommendation of the pianist Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), the Érards gave a grand piano to the Marquis de Guadalcázar (1771–1812) to be used during the exile of King Ferdinand VII of Spain at the Château de Valençay.[26] Jean-Baptiste marked the gift with an "N" in the empty credit column. The Érards also gave instruments in exchange for services rendered. For example, in 1806 and 1807, they gave pianos to Guichard and Robillard in Paris, adding marginal notes to explain that the payments were waived because of *objets d'art* the two men had given to

22 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 186. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris. In the corresponding production ledger, Jean-Baptiste qualifies this gift as a loan. Kalkbrenner was only nineteen years old at the time and had just completed his studies at the Paris Conservatory. Érard production ledger (1802–06), folio 69. N° inv. E.2009.5.41, Musée de la musique, Paris.

23 Érard sales ledger (1806–09), folio 221. N° inv. E.2009.5.102, Musée de la musique, Paris.

24 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 142. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

25 Érard sales ledger (1809–16), folio 23. N° inv. E.2009.5.103, Musée de la musique, Paris; *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, p. 547. Bréguet is also mentioned in a sales ledger in the context of a gift of a piano to a Madame d'Eymard. Érard sales ledger (1809–16), folio 172. N° inv. E.2009.5.103, Musée de la musique, Paris. Érard production ledger (1806–19), folio 43. N° inv. E.2009.5.42. Musée de la musique, Paris. For more on Sébastien's friendship with Bréguet, see *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, pp. 95, 547, 549, 552 and 594. The after-death inventory of Sébastien shows that he owned several clocks made by Bréguet, so gifts might have been reciprocal between the two men.

26 Érard sales ledger (1806–09), folio 209. N° inv. E.2009.5.102, Musée de la musique, Paris.

Sébastien.[27] There may be other such gifts of instruments to Érard friends that were not recorded in the ledgers. Madame de Genlis's niece Georgette Ducrest (1798–1882) recalled that Sébastien gave pianos to many French émigrés during the Revolutionary period: "All émigrés who played music received a piano from him, and he would become angry if they wanted to pay for it."[28]

In light of the Érards' gift practices, we can now better interpret the ledger entry for Beethoven's piano. To begin with, the mere presence of a price (1,500 francs) in the debit column is not an indication that the instrument was sold. Most importantly, the credit column for Beethoven's piano was left blank, and an "N" was added. This double indication underscored the fact that the Érards considered from the outset that the piano, worth 1,500 francs, was to be a gift and that they did not expect any payment in return from Beethoven. Beethoven's piano was one of four gifts given by the Érard firm in 1803. 1803 was an average year for Érard gifts: in 1801 they gave only one (to Haydn), but in 1802 they gave seven.

Historical evidence for the gift There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Érard firm gave the piano to Beethoven as part of an arrangement to publish a French edition of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 13 (*Pathétique*). In addition to their musical-instrument-building activities, the Érard firm was one of the leading music publishers in early nineteenth-century Paris. In 1800, the publishing activity that had been founded by Sébastien and Jean-Baptiste was turned over to two of their nieces, Catherine Barbe Delahante (*née* Marcoux, 1779–1813) and Marie-Françoise Marcoux (1777–1851). From then on, the publishing imprint was known as the "demoiselles Érard". However, the demoiselles Érard was not a separate entity; the extant correspondence in the Érard family archives attests to the close coordination between the instrument-making and publishing wings of the firm, both located on the same premises at the rue du Mail.

The Érards' motivations for giving a gift to Beethoven become apparent when one considers the list of musicians who also received gifts from them during this period. At first, they seem like a disparate group. Of the French musicians, some were close friends

27 "*suspendu le règlement à cause d'un objet relatif à mr Sébastien*" and "*par vte avec des objets d'art remis a mr Sébastien*". Érard sales ledger (1806–09), folios 60 and 96. N° inv. E.2009.5.102, Musée de la musique, Paris. In 1804, the Érards gave a decorated square piano to the art dealer Alexandre-Joseph Paillet (1743–1814). Given Sébastien's passion for art collecting, it is possible that this gift was also made in exchange for paintings. Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 136. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

28 "Tous les émigrés s'occupant de musique recevaient de lui un piano, et il se fût fâché s'ils eussent voulu le payer." Georgette Ducrest: *Mémoires sur l'impératrice Joséphine, sur la ville, la cour et les salons de Paris sous l'Empire*, Paris [1863], p. 3.

of the Érards, such as Hérold, Kalkbrenner and the Vicomte de Marin (1766 or 1769–1847).[29] Others were composers from outside the Érards' circle of friends, such as Louis-Emmanuel Jadin (1768–1853) and Spontini, who was only beginning to make a name for himself in Paris (he would not marry into the Érard family until years later).[30] There was also the relatively obscure Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763–1842), an Italian composer working in Paris, and two foreign musicians with no obvious connections to the Érards: Beethoven in Vienna and Friedrich Heinrich Himmel (1765–1814) in Berlin.[31] What all of these musicians have in common, however, is that they all had works published by the Érard firm during this same period.[32]

The demoiselles Érard did not print pirated editions, even of works by foreign musicians.[33] They bought the rights from the composers, and on numerous occasions a gift of a piano was part of the publishing arrangement. Although no account books remain from the demoiselles Érard, there are scattered mentions in the Érard frères instrument sales ledgers from this period of instruments that were given to composers in exchange for manuscript music to publish. In 1801, Jadin was given a square piano

29 The Vicomte de Marin was responsible for numerous sales of Érard instruments. The Érards gave him gifts of two pianos and two harps, marking the transactions with an "N". Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 170. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris. For Marin's friendship with the Érards, see letter of 15 August 1814 from Pierre Érard in London to Jean-Baptiste Érard in Paris. Archives de la famille Érard.

30 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 244. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

31 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 74. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

32 Anik Devriès-Lesure/François Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Geneva 1979, Vol. 1, catalogues N° 77–82.

33 Griesinger alleged that the Érard edition of *The Creation* was sold without Haydn's authorisation. See "*Eben komme ich von Haydn …*", p. 71. As the Vienna agent for the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf und Härtel, Griesinger was not an impartial observer and may have been upset to learn of French editions of Haydn's music. Nevertheless, in 1799 a French court case determined that French music publishers were within their legal rights to print and sell French editions of foreign works. The Érard firm was neither the first nor the only Parisian publisher to print versions of Haydn's *Creation*. Imbault, Leduc, Porro, Sieber and Pleyel all published scores of the work in the months before the Érard edition was released. Moreover, Érard published Haydn's work both in full score and in piano arrangement by Steibelt, including vocal numbers sold as separate arias. It would not have been customary to pay the original composer of arranged works, only the arranger himself, and Steibelt was amply compensated for his work. See Anik Devriès-Lesure: Un siècle d'implantation allemande en France dans l'édition musicale (1760–1860), in: *Le Concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe de 1780 à 1914 (France, Allemagne, Angleterre)*, ed. by Hans Erich Böddeker, Patrice Veit and Michael Werner, Paris 2002, pp. 25–45, and Michel Noiray: Die Schöpfung à Paris en 1800 – "von Steibelt castrirt"?, in: *Musique, esthétique et société au XIXe siècle. Liber amicorum Joël-Marie Fauquet*, ed. by Damien Colas, Florence Gétreau and Malou Haine, Wavre 2007, pp. 137–160, here pp. 141 f.

Figure 9 A gift of a piano for Jadin in return for "manuscript music of his composition". N° inv. E.2009.5.100, folio 94.

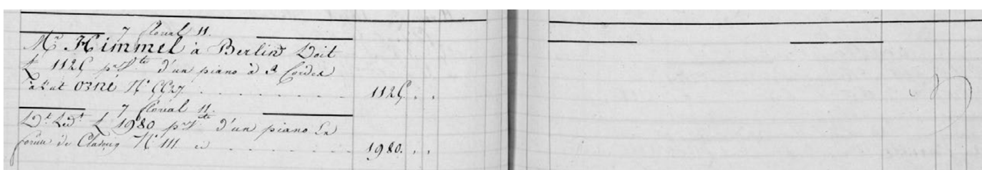

Figure 10 A gift of a piano for Adam in return "for the total value of the compositions for the publishing house over the course of 15 months, from 1 January 1802 until 1 April 1803, for arrangements of Italian arias for the *Journal du Piano*". N° inv. E.2009.5.100, folio 99.

Figure 11 Ledger entry for the gift of two pianos for Himmel. Note the "N" mark in the otherwise empty credit column, and no mention of the publishing arrangement discussed in their correspondence. N° inv. E.2009.5.101, folio 74.

worth 840 francs for having provided the Érards with "manuscript music of his composition"[34] – see Figure 9.

In 1803 Jean-Louis Adam (1758–1848) was given a grand piano worth 1,440 francs "for the total value of the compositions for the publishing house over the course of 15 months, from 1 January 1802 until 1 April 1803, for arrangements of Italian arias for the *Journal du Piano*"[35] – see Figure 10.

Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen (1768–1839) was given a partial credit toward his piano purchase for an unspecified composition given to the Érard firm in 1800.[36] The

34 "En manuscrits de musique de sa composition". Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 94. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

35 *"par compte fait ce jour, d'ouvrages, fait pour le magazin de musique pendant 15 mois, du 1.er janvier 1802, au 1er avril 1803, pr arrangements des airs Italiens du Journal pr le piano"*. Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 99. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

36 Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 48. N° inv. E.2009.5.110, Musée de la musique, Paris.

remuneration for musical works was not only in the form of instruments: Steibelt received several months' rent in an apartment on the rue du Mail in exchange for his compositions.[37] Other composers published by the demoiselles Érard received partial payment waivers for Érard instruments, marked with an "N" in the ledgers. These include Charles-Henri Plantade (1764–1839) and Felice Blangini (1781–1841).[38]

Ledgers only tell part of the story as publication negotiations can also be found in correspondence with the Érard firm. A case in point is the composer Himmel, whose ledger entry (for the gift of two pianos, one square and one grand) is identical to the entry for Beethoven's gift: an empty credit column and the "N" mark – see Figure 11.

Corroborating evidence for the gifts is contained in three letters from Himmel to the Érard brothers in which Himmel discusses sonatas and his sextet that he gave to Érard to publish.[39] The Érard firm published these works and then gave Himmel two free pianos.

It appears that the Érard firm agreed on a period during which they would have the rights to publish music, after which time the composer would receive a free piano.[40] The time between Himmel's offering of his scores for publication (22 October 1801) and the sending of pianos as gifts (27 April 1803) is similar to the fifteen months that were mentioned above between Adam's offering scores and his receiving a free piano. In the case of Beethoven's gift, the period between his transfer of the publishing rights and the shipment of his free piano was considerably longer, but this may be due to the fact that Beethoven only offered one work whereas Himmel and Adam offered several. The terms of such a contract would have been negotiated in writing. A document in the Érard family archives reveals that a correspondence between Beethoven and Sébastien Érard did once

37 Devriès/Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

38 One would need to read the Érard ledgers with the now lost demoiselles Érard ledgers to be able to interpret certain transactions. For example, in 1802, Jadin purchased a piano using a bill of exchange payable a year later. When the bill came due, Jean-Baptiste noted that the 912 francs were returned unpaid, but instead of adding penalties, he simply added an "N" in the credit column to indicate that he would not pursue the matter, essentially giving the piano as a gift. Jadin was one of the most prolific composers in the catalogues of the demoiselles Érard. It is therefore possible that he settled his later debt by giving the Érards additional compositions that were not noted in the ledgers. Érard sales ledger (1799–1802), folio 162. N° inv. E.2009.5.100, Musée de la musique, Paris.

39 Letters of 30 vendémiaire [an X?; 22 October 1801?], 7 frimaire an X [28 November 1801], and 12 nivôse an X [2 January 1802] from Friedrich Heinrich Himmel in Paris to Sébastien Érard in Paris. Archives de la famille Érard.

40 During this same period the Érards offered their workers similar contracts with built-in incentive measures, so it is not surprising that they would do the same with respect to publishing agreements. Letter of 15 April 1797 to M. Deodor, care of the French embassy in Huningue. *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, p. 188.

exist, but it was destroyed in a fire at the Érard family's château de la Muette in December 1855.[41]

Knowing that the Érard firm gave pianos to some of the composers whose works they published might help us to better understand the circumstances surrounding their gift to Haydn. It has always been assumed that they gave this gift in homage to the most respected composer of his time, but this motivation is not found in a single contemporaneous source. On the other hand, the Érard firm published Steibelt's domestic arrangements of Haydn's *Creation* and *The Seasons* approximately a year before sending the gift. The Érards may therefore have decided to offer Haydn a piano as an expression of gratitude for his music, which was so profitable to their publishing enterprise.

In light of the numerous gifts recorded in the Érard ledgers, we can now understand that, to be worthy of a gift of an Érard piano, it was not necessary to have the stature of the internationally renowned Haydn; the Érards also gave pianos to relatively obscure composers such as Vincenzo Fiocchi (1767–1843) and Louis Granier, *fils* (circa 1770–circa 1840).[42] Nevertheless, the Érard firm's gifts to Haydn and Beethoven may also have been part of a plan to target figures in Viennese musical circles: they similarly gave harps to the music historian Grigori Vladimirovitch Orlov (1777–1826) and to Beethoven's friend and librettist Georg Friedrich Treitschke (1776–1842), then director of the Imperial Theatre.[43] The Érards had a longstanding practice of sending instruments to foreign customers in the hope of expanding the Érard instrument-building empire. Pierre Érard, for example, would later remark that every harp sent to a customer in India would result in four or five additional orders from the subcontinent.[44] In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Érard brothers seemed to be making a conscious effort to expand their customer base in Germany, Austria, and central Europe. In addition to Himmel in Berlin, they gave a grand piano to the pianist Józef Elsner (1769–1854), who would later become famous as Chopin's teacher, but whom in 1806 Jean-Baptiste identified simply

41 "Les documents qui seraient aujourd'hui si intéressants à consulter et qui, certainement, existaient ont dû être transportés à l'orangerie de la Muette au moment où, en 1854 ou 1855 on a reconstruit une partie des bâtiments de la rue du Mail; il parait que cette orangerie a brûlé et avec elle ont été détruites toutes ces archives y compris la correspondance que Sébastien Érard entretenait avec les plus grands musiciens de l'époque, Beethoven et autres." Letter of 11 September 1913 from Albert Blondel to Charles de Franqueville. Archives de la famille Érard.

42 Érard sales ledger (1806–09), folio 270, N° inv. E.2009.5.102, Musée de la musique, Paris; Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 83, N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris.

43 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 216, N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris; Érard sales ledger (1809–16), folio 183, N° inv. E.2009.5.103, Musée de la musique, Paris.

44 Letter of 30 September 1814 from Pierre Érard in London to Thomas Henry in Paris. Archives de la famille Érard.

as "*maître de musique* at the Polish theatre in Warsaw".[45] Although these many gifts may have helped to expand the Érard empire, they may have contributed – along with the frequent payment waivers – to the firm's financial problems that came to a head when they officially declared bankruptcy in 1813.

The significance of the gift Knowing that Beethoven's gift was part of a publishing arrangement alters our understanding of the chronology of events related to the acquisition of his piano. Until now, scholars have assumed that Beethoven's desire to have an Érard piano dates to approximately November 1802, when he wrote a letter to Nikolaus Zmeskall about his favourable impressions of Haydn's Érard piano.[46] However, the Érard firm advertised their edition of the *Pathétique* Sonata on 2 February 1801, which means that they would have received the score of the work and engaged in negotiations with Beethoven by mid to late 1800.[47] In other words, by the time that Haydn received the gift of his own Érard piano in early 1801, Beethoven was already involved in a publishing agreement with the Érard firm and probably knew that if all went well with the sales of his *Pathétique* Sonata in Paris, he too would receive his own Érard piano as a gift. Indeed, the *Pathétique* was apparently a profitable edition for the demoiselles Érard as it remained in their catalogue until at least 1804.[48]

At some point during the three-year wait for his Érard piano, Beethoven appears to have taken steps to ensure the quality of the instrument. In particular, he probably arranged with the Érard firm that his piano would be tested and chosen by the pianist Jean-Louis Adam, then professor at the Paris Conservatoire. We know this because in a contemporaneous letter, the composer Ferdinand Ries (1784–1838) wrote that Beethoven had initially planned on dedicating his *Kreutzer* Sonata op. 47 to both the violinist Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831) and Adam because "he owed Adam something because of

45 Érard sales ledger (1802–06), folio 74, N° inv. E.2009.5.101, Musée de la musique, Paris; Érard production ledger (1802–06), folio 119, N° inv. E.2009.5.41, Musée de la musique, Paris; and Érard sales ledger (1806–09), folio 32, N° inv. E.2009.5.102, Musée de la musique, Paris.

46 Letter of November 1802 from Ludwig van Beethoven to Nikolaus Zmeskall, in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

47 [Anon]: *Journal de Paris*, 13 pluviôse an IX [2 February 1801], p. 805. Rose erroneously states that this edition dated from 1802 and gives an incorrect date for the *Journal de Paris* advertisement. See Rose: Beethoven and his "French piano", p. 113. The first *extant* catalogue of the demoiselles Érard reproduced by Devriès and Lesure is indeed from 1802, but the Érards' music-publishing activity began several years earlier, so it is not surprising to find that an advertisement for the Érard edition of Beethoven's sonata dates from early 1801. Devriès/Lesure: *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

48 Ibid., Vol. 1, catalogues N° 78–82.

the *Klavier* from Paris".[49] In other words, Beethoven was most likely indebted to Adam for his services in selecting his piano a few months earlier. Adam had been one of the Érard firm's most frequent and famous piano testers since at least 1791.[50] Several pianos made in close chronological proximity to Beethoven's were sold with the help of Adam, including N° 132, the piano that immediately preceded Beethoven's N° 133.[51]

The gift debate has always hinged on whether Beethoven's acquisition of the piano was unsolicited (a gift) or solicited (an order) – the implication being that the former would have had little influence on his music. However, understanding that the gift was not an abstract homage to Beethoven's genius, but was rather related to the publication of the *Pathétique* Sonata, may indicate that the piano was a 'solicited gift'. In other words, Beethoven probably entered into the publication agreement with the knowledge that he would receive a free piano, and he may have even selected Érard over other Parisian publishers for that very reason.[52] The long wait for his Érard piano to arrive would have naturally intensified his sense of expectation with respect to the instrument and its musical potential.[53]

49 Letter of 22 October 1803 from Ferdinand Ries to Nikolaus Simrock, in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

50 See, for example, letters of 29 March 1791 to M. Sequin de Broin in Dijon, 29 March 1791 to M. Callias, chez Madame de Faudras, in Chalon-sur-Saône, and 29 March 1791 to M. Hemberger in Semur. *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, p. 66. It seems that Adam's taste in pianos was not always shared by customers, for twelve days later the Érards wrote to a different client, "I did not expect to receive complaints about the piano that I sent you, since it had been chosen by M. Adam, whom you had charged with this responsibility. As you do not find your instrument satisfactory, I will send you another one chosen and even signed by M. Adam." Letter of 9 May 1791 to M. Sequin de Broin in Dijon. *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp*, p. 74. Even as late as 1823, Adam was still active selecting pianos in Paris. See letter of 25 September 1823 from Pierre Érard in Paris to Céleste Érard in Berlin. Archives de la famille Érard.

51 Érard production ledger (1788–1802). N° inv. E.2009.5.40, Musée de la musique, Paris. Selectors of pianos are rarely named in the Érard ledgers. Adam's role as piano selector is only mentioned in the Érard correspondence.

52 Whether the publishing arrangement was initiated by the Érard firm or by Beethoven is not known, although only a few years later, Beethoven wrote directly to French publishers to propose printing some of his works in Paris. Letter of 26 April 1807 from Beethoven in Vienna to Ignaz and Camille Pleyel in Paris. Beethoven-Haus, Bonn, NE 161.

53 For a discussion of the influence of Beethoven's Érard piano on his compositions, see Robert Adelson: *Erard. A Passion for the Piano*, Oxford/New York 2021.

Martin Skamletz

A Gesture of Expansion. The Limited Enlargement of the Tessitura in Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 53 as a Further Development of Procedures Essayed in His Early Chamber Music

This essay follows on from an examination, begun elsewhere, of the relationship between the range of the piano keyboard and compositional structure.[1] There, among other topics, we investigated why Beethoven's *Waldstein* Sonata in C major Op. 53, his first work written for the Érard piano that he was given in the summer of 1803, in fact uses only part of the extended range that this instrument offered when compared to contemporary Viennese pianos. By taking some of his earlier chamber music works as our starting point here – the Violin Sonata in E♭ major Op. 12 No. 3 and the *Gassenhauer* Piano Trio in B♭ major Op. 11, both of which were written a few years earlier and were still intended for the standard Viennese piano keyboard (reaching up to f6) – we may observe that the 'gesture of expansion' introduced there is the same that reappears in the Sonata Op. 53. We shall here consider the implications of this gesture for the formal design of the works in which it occurs.

Developments in instrument construction open up new compositional possibilities Beethoven's emerging compositional style in the years around 1800 tended to result in works that were both longer in duration, and more complex in their use of different keys, than had hitherto been customary. These developments also made use of the fact that the piano's range was being extended at the time; longer compositional structures incorporating more modulations naturally require a more extensive tonal range. While Beethoven's Viennese contemporaries generally respected the traditional five-octave range of the piano (f1 – f6), accepting it as a 'natural' limitation within the canonised forms employed for piano music (and despite the existence already of several pianos that reached up to g6 or even a6),[2] Beethoven repeatedly made this very limitation the subject of unusual compositional procedures (see Music Example 1):[3]

1 Martin Skamletz: "Man hat diese Erweiterung des Tonumfanges seit ein paar Jahren an den Tasteninstrumenten sehr weit getrieben". Der Umgang mit Grenzen beim späten Mozart und beim frühen Beethoven, in: *Rund um Beethoven. Interpretationsforschung heute*, ed. by Thomas Gartmann and Daniel Allenbach, Schliengen 2019 (Musikforschung der Hochschule der Künste Bern, Vol. 14), pp. 263–290. This essay also includes a more comprehensive discussion of the examples discussed briefly in the following footnotes here, and demonstrated in Music Example 1.

2 "Das 19. Jahrhundert beginnt noch mit dem Fünfoktaven-Umfang, der gelegentlich, bei Walter, bis g³, dann von Schantz bis a³ und um 1805 von den meisten Herstellern bis c⁴ erweitert wird". ("The

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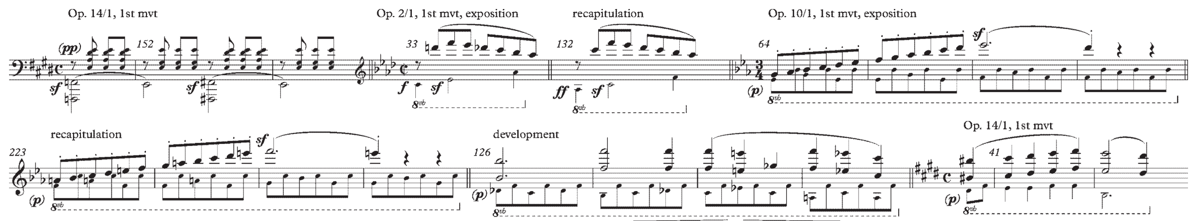


Music Example 1 **Piano Sonatas Op. 14 No. 1, 1st mvt, mm. 152 f.; Op. 2 No. 1, 1st mvt, mm. 33 and 132; Op. 10 No. 1, 1st mvt, mm. 64–67, 223–226 and 126–129; Op. 14 No. 1, 1st mvt, mm. 41 f. (in reduced notation)**

The lower boundary of the keyboard, f1, is less often the focus of attention, and is only occasionally thematised; harmonic and dynamic aspects can here exercise a mutual influence on each other.[4] At the upper boundary, f6, Beethoven's early works often present surprising solutions in their treatment of the melodic line, especially in connection with the transposition of the second subject in the recapitulation,[5] or in the sequence of keys employed,[6] which might be interpreted as a 'deformation' of the configurations expected,

nineteenth century began with a [keyboard] range of five octaves, which was extended by Walter to g6, then by Schantz to a6 …".) Gert Hecher: Designentwicklung und bautechnische Datierungsmöglichkeiten, in: *Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850. Bericht des Symposiums "Das Wiener Klavier bis 1850"*, ed. by Beatrix Darmstädter, Alfons Huber and Rudolf Hopfner, Tutzing 2007, pp. 179–194, here p. 192. All English translations in this article by Chris Walton.

3 In order to be reader-friendly, the following observations give the bar numbers used in modern editions, though they present the musical text of the original edition in each case. This is especially relevant at the extremities of the keyboard, where 'missing' notes have often been added in later editions.

4 For example, at the end of the first movement of the Sonata in E major Op. 14/1 (mm. 151–154), a *sforzato* is placed on the octave f1/f2, but the ensuing lead back into *pianissimo* is given on a single note, *e2*, whose lower octave would exceed the range available on the keyboard. Here, the lowest note on the piano, f1, appears unexpectedly as a component of the dominant of E major. This is unexpected for two reasons that serve to emphasise it all the more: first in terms of the dynamics, as the lower note of a *sforzato* octave on an unstressed beat of the bar, and secondly in harmonic terms, as the chromatically lowered second degree of the scale in E major, resulting in an altered dominant with an augmented sixth in relation to the fundamental note. This chord is resolved harmonically on a stressed beat of the bar, but comes across as unstressed, due not least to the fact that no lower octave is available under the note *e2*.

5 In the first movement of the Sonata in f minor Op. 2/1, the melody takes almost the exact same course (utilising the highest available note, f6) at the end of both the exposition (mm. 33/37) and the recapitulation (mm. 132/136), despite the fact that it is given in A♭ major the first time and in f minor the second time.

6 In the first movement of the Sonata in c minor Op. 10/1, the second subject (given in the exposition from m. 56 onwards in E♭ major) is initially transposed in the recapitulation into the unusual key of F major (from m. 215 onwards) because this enables Beethoven to employ the note f6 at its climax (see

and which occur because the notes needed are not extant. Whereas the highest note available for the melodic line, f6, is elsewhere seldom exceeded, such an act of 'expansion' might in rare cases be suggested as a 'missing' note,[7] and in exceptional cases it might even actually be notated.[8] The obvious necessity of expanding the range of the keyboard is often emphasised with reference to the fact that the traditional, limited tessitura was exploited by Beethoven at an earlier moment within a movement and less economically than one might expect in the customary formal dramaturgy.[9]

These observations refer primarily to works intended for publication and thus for performance on standard instruments of the time outside the direct control of the composer. Published works for a lay audience who played the piano themselves had to respect the normal range of common-or-garden instruments – in contrast to pieces that were published later or even posthumously. Such works might in certain circumstances have originally been conceived for very specific, special instruments, either within a private teaching context,[10] or for the exclusive use of the composer himself – such as in solo concertos with orchestral accompaniment. Works like these, which were 'custom-made' products, did not have to adhere to the standards of the aforementioned instruments, even if they were in some cases adapted in a later printing for the traditional range of the instrument. Certain passages in Beethoven's Piano Concertos in C major Op. 15 and in

m. 225 compared to m. 66 in the exposition); only later (as of m. 233) does it appear in the tonic key of c minor.

7 In the development of the first movement of the Sonata in c minor Op. 10/1, g♭6 is implied but not notated (m. 128). The way this passage is composed – the note g♭ is unstressed and given in a long melodic line in octaves, *piano* – means that we either seem to 'hear' this note, or its absence is at the very least obscured. The similar passages in the Violin Sonata in E♭ major Op. 12 No. 3 and in the Piano Trio in B♭ major Op. 11 that are discussed later in this article both fall into this category.

8 The second subject of the first movement of the Sonata in E major Op. 14/1, whose context is otherwise comparable to the passage quoted here in Op. 10/1 (m. 128), indeed gives an f♯6 (m. 41).

9 We can see this, for example, in the early, frequent appearance of what was customarily the highest note available, f6, which was traditionally used in small doses and only towards the end of a formal section. We find it thus, for example, in the first movements of the Sonatas Op. 10/1 (mm. 6 f. and 28) and Op. 53 (mm. 9–11). Regarding the traditional, economical dramaturgy in the use of this f6, see the analysis of the first movement of Mozart's Sonata in B♭ major K. 570 in Skamletz: "Man hat diese Erweiterung …", pp. 266–274.

10 See, for example, Mozart's Sonata for Two Pianos in D major K. 448/375a, which calls for a single f♯6 in the first piano in its third movement (m. 98). This first piano part was played on various occasions by his pupils Josepha Auernhammer and Barbara Ployer on their own, private pianos (together with Mozart himself at the second piano). This work was only printed posthumously; the first edition appeared in 1795, and included this f♯6 (*Sonate pour deux clavecins, œuvre 34me*, Vienna: Artaria [PN 550], Clavicembalo primo, p. 12). This instance might well have inspired Beethoven to do something similar.

Music Example 2 **Piano Concerto Op. 15, 1st mvt, mm. 171–174 (exposition) and 386–389 (recapitulation)**

c minor Op. 37, for example, are to be seen in this light (see Music Example 2 and Figure 1).[11]

It is notable that the Sonata in C major Op. 53 no longer exceeds the traditional keyboard range only in selective, more or less negligible cases. Its third movement, for example, begins with g6 and returns to this note throughout. This meant that anyone wanting to buy the printed edition and actually play the piece would have to purchase a new instrument with a larger range. However, this sonata still does not yet utilise the entire, extended range of Beethoven's new Érard grand piano (f1 – c7), which he had been using since 1803 (his Sonata in f minor Op. 57, written slightly later, makes full use of its extended keyboard). The Sonata Op. 53 still limits itself to using the extra notes between f♯6 and a6.[12] These notes are demonstratively introduced in chromatic steps, and their use at the close of the first movement (mm. 275 f.) is especially striking. Here, the highest

11 The use of f6 instead of the f♯6 expected in the first movement of the Piano Concerto in C major Op. 15 (m. 172) reveals an interesting interaction of keyboard range, harmony and orchestration. In the context of the dominant key of G major, it produces an appoggiatura on a perfect fourth above the fourth degree of the scale in the bass where an augmented fourth would have been the expected, diatonic option (cf. the parallel passage in the recapitulation, with an appoggiatura on an augmented fourth, m. 387). This instance might well seem "awkward", as Tilman Skowroneck suggests, but it certainly is not exclusively negative and merely "a restriction for the publication of the piece" (Tilman Skowroneck: *Beethoven the Pianist*, Cambridge 2010, p. 83 f.), for the unexpected f6 is emphasised by a reduction in the orchestration at this point (see Music Example 2). The first edition of the Piano Concerto in c minor Op. 37 (Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie PN 289 [1804]) assumes a keyboard range of up to g6 throughout, but prints all passages of the piano part beyond this in small, *ossia* notes (1st mvt, mm. 225–227 and 440 f.; 2nd mvt, mm. 36 and 77 [see Figure 1]; 3rd mvt, mm. 86–90, 346–349 and 438–442).

12 Sonata Op. 53, 1st mvt, mm. 73 (f♯6), 207 (g6), 229–234 (g6 – a♭6 – a6) and 275 f. (g6 – g♯6 – a6); 3rd mvt (g6 passim), mm. 27 f. and 140 f. (a6), 203 and 230 (a♭6), 262 (g♯6 – a6) and 386 (a♭6). For an initial assessment of this circumstance (interpreting it as a cautious announcement of an intended extension of the keyboard range, also in piano works published for general use) and a discussion of its interpretation by Skowroneck (in *Beethoven the Pianist*, pp. 103–115), see Skamletz: "Man hat diese Erweiterung …", pp. 286 f., with Music Example 9 (ibid., p. 285).

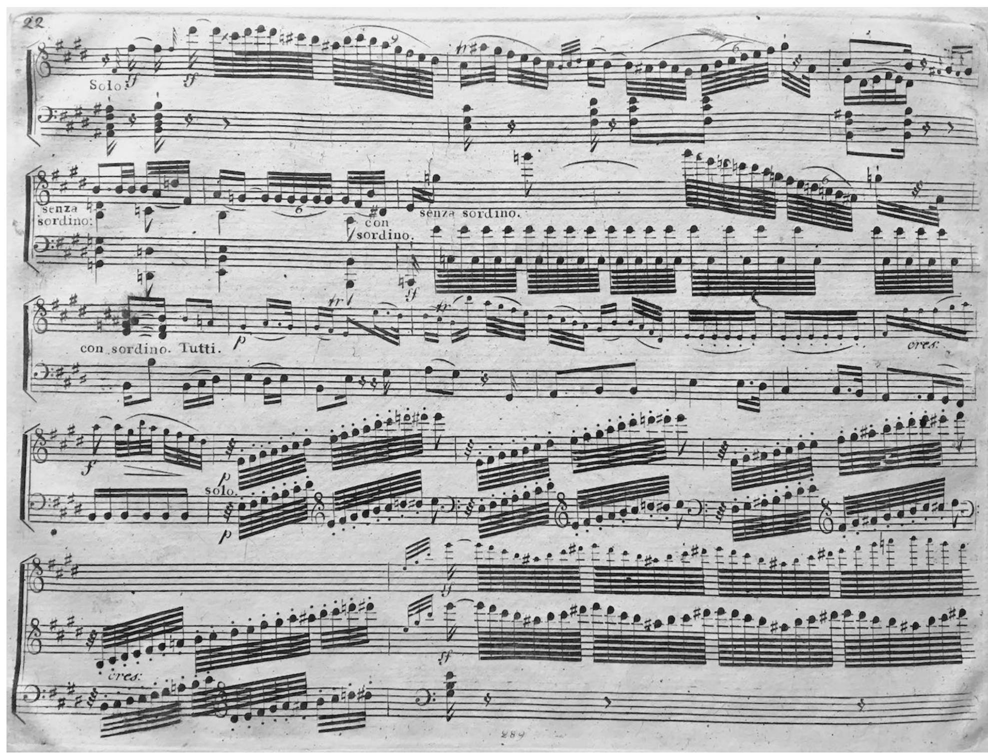
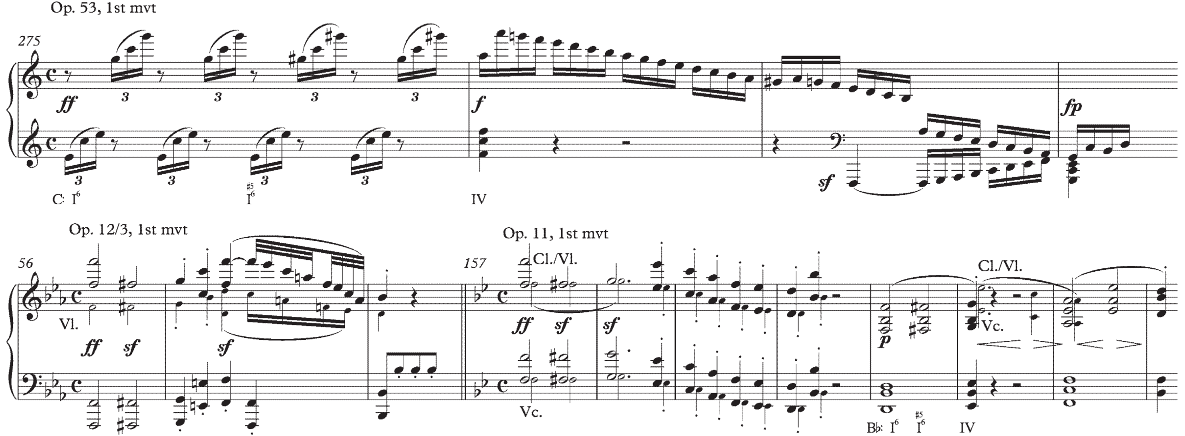


Figure 1 Piano Concerto Op. 37, 2nd mvt, mm. 58–77, piano part of the first edition, Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie PN 289 [1804], here in an identical re-issue "au Magazin de J. Riedl" [1814], with *ossia* notation for pianos with a larger compass, up to c7



Music Example 3 Piano Sonata Op. 53, 1st mvt., mm. 275–278; Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, 1st mvt, mm. 56–58; Piano Trio Op. 11, 1st mvt, mm. 157–164. In all these music examples, the other instrumental parts (violin, violin/clarinet, cello) have been included in small print in the piano part.

note used, a6, is reached chromatically and is part of the subdominant F-major triad that also contains the lowest available note, f1, in bar 277 (Music Example 3, line 1).

This harmonisation of the upper part g6 – g♯6 – a6 in C major represents, as it were, the definitive version of the expansion of the keyboard range used in this sonata. The fifth degree of the scale in C major is altered upwards and leads into the sixth degree, thereby extending the hitherto customary range upwards, chromatically, by a whole tone. In harmonic terms, this is achieved by altering the fifth of the tonic triad, which thus becomes an intermediary dominant of the subdominant.

A gesture of expansion What in the context of the Sonata Op. 53 would appear to be a singular instance of placing the highest point shortly before the end of the movement proves in retrospect to be a repeat instance of a 'gesture of expansion' that we can already find in two of Beethoven's chamber music works from 1797/98.[13] However, given the state of piano construction and the prevalence of the instrument at the time, these instances are one tone lower than in Op. 53, and they are in any case 'virtual' expansions, since the notes f♯6 and g6 are not notated, but merely suggested (see Music Example 3, line 2). In both the Piano Trio in B♭ major Op. 11 and the Violin Sonata in E♭ major, Op. 12 No. 3, the sequence of notes f6 [– f♯6 – g6] is implied in striking, almost identical fashion in the first movement in each case. In Op. 11 this occurs at the beginning of the recapitulation (mm. 157 f.) and in Op. 12 No. 3 towards the end of the exposition (mm. 56 f.). In other words, in both cases we are in the region of B♭ major and thus, as in the Piano Sonata Op. 53, we are dealing with the stepwise melodic sequence ⑤ – ♯ ⑤ – ⑥. In bars 161 f., Op. 11 also provides a harmonised version of this melodic motion, which is exactly the same as in Op. 53. The principal difference between them lies in the fact that the upper limit of the keyboard in 1797/98 was still f6, whereas in 1803/04, Beethoven sets it at g6, which in Op. 53 he exceeds with the use of g♯ – a6. In what follows below, these passages in Op. 11 and Op. 12 No. 3 are understood in such a way that they both demand an expansion of the range of the piano keyboard and essentially announce the imminence of that expansion – which becomes a reality from the Sonata Op. 53 onwards; this sonata, conversely, refers back to that earlier pronouncement in the form of a quotation.

Op. 12 No. 3: A necessary expansion with an unsatisfactory solution? In the first movement of the Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, this gesture of expansion is given in exactly the right place – at least when it occurs in the exposition – namely in the context of one of

13 Kurt Dorfmüller/Norbert Gertsch/Julia Ronge: *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Munich 2014, Vol. 1, pp. 56–60 (Op. 11) and pp. 60–66 (Op. 12).

the concluding cadences in the dominant key (mm. 56–58). It thereby enables this first formal section to find a clear climax. The 'virtual' use of f♯6 and g6 seems a well-nigh necessity, since the exposition has already used the actual top note f6 all too often in all manner of contexts (contexts that were unusual at the time) – not yet in the region of the first subject (until m. 13), but:

– already at the beginning of the modulation towards the dominant, B♭ major (m. 18),
– thereafter numerous times after reaching the dominant of the new key (mm. 23–28),
– during the second subject (three times in mm. 37–41) and
– during the ensuing passagework (m. 47),
– and this f6 is also given twice in the closing section and after the 'expanded' cadence (mm. 62 and 66).

Music Example 4 gives several of these instances.

Music Example 4 Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, 1st mvt, excerpts from the exposition (mm. 5–13, 22–28, 43–48) and the recapitulation (mm. 108–115, 122–124, 139–144), in direct comparison

At least at first glance, the recapitulation of this movement seems to distribute these top notes quite normally in the context of transposing the exposition. They now appear in those passages in which they were not stated during the exposition:

- already in the first subject (mm. 110 and 113 f.) in connection with its unexpected slip into the key of A♭ major, which continues
- at the beginning of the transition (f6 in m. 117).
- When the dominant of E♭ major is reached, the f6 can be employed just as well as it was in the exposition in B♭ major (mm. 122 f.),
- and also towards the close of the movement, the traditionally highest note is once again used in a different place from in the exposition (m. 172).

Only when the second subject is transposed to the fundamental key of E♭ major in the recapitulation is its dramaturgy of the highest note no longer completely convincing: The theme proper (in the piano at mm. 133–140) is transposed downwards throughout when compared to the exposition, which is why it could not employ the highest note of the keyboard at all, if it were not abruptly transposed up an octave in the penultimate bar (m. 139). In the ensuing passagework, the f6 can be utilised appropriately once more (in m. 142, as a transposition of m. 46), though immediately afterwards (in mm. 47/143), the melody is transposed irregularly in a manner that is not immediately comprehensible, and which does not generate a new top note. The cadence with its 'gesture of expansion' (mm. 152 f.) is also transposed downwards almost exactly in the recapitulation, and cannot even incorporate the former top note f6, let alone suggest a new, higher note.

Thus, unlike the exposition, which introduced the virtual f♯6 and g6, the recapitulation remains without an unambiguous highpoint and leaves an impression that is not entirely satisfactory in this regard – at least according to this initial analysis, which refers only to the use of the traditional top note f6. This note occurs almost stereotypically, and in almost every part of the movement it appears as a component of the same chord, namely the dominant of c minor, often as the first note of a *fonte* model (V): II V I in B♭ major:

- in the exposition, when the modulation to the dominant key begins in bars 18–21,
- in the second subject in bars 33 f. and 41 f.,
- and also – though not in a *fonte* – in bar 47 in the 'irregularly transposed' passagework mentioned above, and
- at the opening of the development in bars 68–70.

With regard to the expansion of the keyboard range suggested by Beethoven using f♯6 to g6, several further aspects are perhaps of interest for the harmonic implications of this

melodic ascension. After all, our concern here is with the connection between expanding the range of the keyboard and changes in compositional structure:

– he note f♯ as the leading note in the key of g minor, the parallel key of the dominant key of B♭ major, is found primarily in the development, where this key plays an important role (mm. 72–81).
– In the closing section of the exposition, several f♯ are hidden among chromatic auxiliary notes (mm. 60 and 62).

Overall, g♭ is found much more often, which – unlike the f♯ – does not lead upwards to g, but has no place in the diatonic keys of the scale of E♭ major, and instead occurs in various keys that are related to the variant key of e♭ minor: Thus, in the development, a regular model sequence begins in bar 81 in g minor/c minor/f minor that proceeds via b♭ minor (m. 90) and e♭ minor (m. 93) to C♭ major (m. 94), a key that initially sounds very distant, but then employs a minor seventh that is reinterpreted as an augmented sixth (m. 102) and thereby leads quite uncomplicatedly back into the recapitulation in E♭ major. In the exposition, the g♭ is the bass note of an augmented sixth that leads to the dominant of the dominant key of B♭ major (mm. 22 f. and 26 f.). Such a brief shift to the minor, both before the confirmation of the dominant key (namely b♭ minor, mm. 21–28 and then again in mm. 51–54) and in the recapitulation in the home key (here e♭ minor in mm. 147–151) is very common.

In the other movements of the Sonata Op. 12 No. 3 – only a few aspects of which can be addressed here – keys from the tonal area of their respective variant key are also used: In the Adagio (in C major), these are f minor and D♭ major, which occupy themselves extensively with the lowest note on the piano, f1 (mm. 24, 26, 28, 32, 34); in the final Rondo, which is back in E♭ major, the middle couplet (mm. 95–162) spends most of its time in G♭ major, e♭ minor and b♭ minor.

Our initial impression was that the use of a 'gesture of expansion' in Op. 12 No. 3 is an anecdotal element occurring only once, and that it could not positively influence the course of the work in any meaningful way in terms of employing a traditional dramaturgy of the highest notes, especially in the first movement. However, at the close of our comments here, we shall relativise this assumption by viewing things from a different perspective.

Op. 11: Does it make a thorough case for expanding the tonal space? When compared with the first movement of the Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, in which this 'gesture of expansion' tends to occur in an unrelated manner, the Piano Trio Op. 11 by contrast seems to have been composed in a far more consistent fashion: its first movement almost gives the impression that its whole structure is derived from the 'gesture of expansion'

that has been adopted from Op. 12 No. 3. This figure thus stands like a motto right at the beginning of the movement (mm. 1 f., Music Example 5) – though it is still an octave lower than in the version that actually exceeds the range of the keyboard and that opens the recapitulation (mm. 157 f.). On the other hand, however, it becomes perceptible in bars 3 f. that there is a need to extend the piano's tonal compass downwards as well – which was traditionally f1–f6. The intensification that takes place from the exposition to the recapitulation in Op. 11 works better dramaturgically than the unique appearance of the corresponding 'gesture of expansion' at the end of the exposition of Op. 12 No. 3. The introduction of this figure in a striking unison is immediately followed by a harmonised version of the motion in the upper voice, f – f♯ – g, which has already been discussed above in the context of Op. 53 (mm. 5 f. and then also mm. 161 f. – see again, in this regard, Music Example 3). The use of this chromatic motion is not limited to the top part but can also occur in the bass (see mm. 16 f.), which in turn brings other harmonic implications with it. It can occur both within a cadence in the home key of B♭ major (mm. 16–19) and in the context of the second subject in the dominant key of F major, either as the sequence e – f to f♯ – g and back again (mm. 55–63), or in the form of a proper *fonte* (V): II V I (mm. 84 f., Music Example 5). In the coda of the first movement, there is a 'definitive' version of the cadence with an integrated 'gesture of expansion' as the bass line (mm. 247–254); here, bar 252 offers a further virtual downward extension of the tonal range.

The close of the coda from bar 247 onwards is already present in exactly the same form in a sketch in the *Kafka Sketchbook*, as are the complete development section and the beginning of the recapitulation.[14] Several aspects here are worthy of note:

– The development (mm. 106–156) is notated there in the form of a largely one-part continuity draft that lays down both the temporal proportions and the basic key areas; this was presumably an initial draft, though it completely matches the final, published version. This means that a specific element within the development that the composer was free to determine, namely the path that the modulations take in the model sequence, was in fact fixed from the beginning. It takes us from D♭ major (m. 123) via e♭ minor (m. 125), f minor (m. 129) and g minor (m. 133) to the dominant of b♭ minor/B♭ major (m. 143) – thus for long stretches it proceeds through ascending major seconds. This progression can also be associated with the chromatic 'gesture of expansion'.

14 GB-Lbl Add. Ms. 29801 ("Kafka"), fol. 146v. Facsimile: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Autograph Miscellany from circa 1786 to 1799 (the "Kafka Sketchbook")*, ed. by Joseph Kerman, London 1970, Vol. 1, fol. 146v. Transcription: ibid., Vol. 2, p. 23 f. Regarding all the sketches assigned to op. 11, see *Ludwig van Beethoven. Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, Vol. 1, p. 57.

Music Example 5 **Piano Trio Op. 11, 1st mvt, excerpts from the exposition (mm. 1–8, 13–19, 55–63, 84f.), the recapitulation (mm. 157–160) and the coda (mm. 247–254)**

– The beginning of the recapitulation (mm. 157–184) is also sketched out on the same sheet. It was probably made very early in the compositional process, though the only deviation between this sketch and the final version is the fact that the melodic line f – f♯ – g in mm. 161f. has already been transposed to b♭ – b – c and is intended to use a diminished seventh to lead towards c minor; in the final version, however, it remains untransposed at this point (see Music Example 6).
– Afterwards, this sketch corresponds precisely once more to the printed version. Thus the transposition down a fifth, which is already found in the transition (to E♭ major, from m. 166 onwards), plus the shift to c minor (from m. 177 onwards), which does not occur in the exposition, seem to have been determined in the initial stages of the work's conception. The stepwise melodic sequence ⑤ –♯ ④ – ⑤ (in B♭ major in the exposition, at f – e – f from m. 20 onwards, in E♭ major in the recapitulation, at b♭ – a – b♭ from m. 169 onwards) can become the sequence g – f♯ – g through its transposition to c minor.

This comparison with the sketch provides convincing arguments that incorporating the sequence of notes f – f♯ – g as a kind of 'idée fixe' on all possible structural levels constitutes

Music Example 6 **Piano Trio Op. 11, 1st mvt, mm. 157–187 (beginning of the recapitulation): A comparison of the printed version with the sketch GB-Lbl Add. Ms. 29801 (Kafka), fol. 146v. Transcription as given in Beethoven: *Autograph Miscellany …*, Vol. 2, p. 23, with the bar numbers of the published version added here**

the basic idea of the entire movement and was correspondingly planned by Beethoven from the very beginning.

The de facto 'extension' of f6 by f♯6 and g6 is only suggested once in this movement, namely at the beginning of the recapitulation – unless one has an instrument with the additional notes f♯6 and g6 available and decides to play bars 177–180 an octave higher in the right hand. Otherwise, allusions to the new possibilities opened up by these two notes must be limited to the lower octaves of the piano keyboard.

Given that the range of the piano keyboard available to him remained limited from the perspective of 1798, it therefore seems reasonable to suggest that Beethoven decided to focus on other parameters in order to create the impression of an expanded tonal space. Plausible examples of this are the transition in the exposition (from m. 39 onwards) and the beginning of the development (from m. 106). Here, two foreign keys, D major and D♭ major, enter quite unexpectedly and abruptly, neither of which is proper to the scale of B♭ major, but which are both mediant keys in which the note of f♯ / g♭ plays a significant role (see Music Example 7). D major can subsequently be understood as the dominant of g minor, and the whole, in retrospect, as the beginning of a *fonte* modulation (V): II V I to F major; it is out of D♭ major that the abovementioned model sequence in ascending seconds develops (and in mm. 113 f., we can hear once more the descending sequence of notes g – g♭ – f). What is decisive here, however, is the element of temporal stretching in an unexpected tonal space that is clearly perceptible in these two instances: it is initially irritating, but then remains in the memory in the long term. This observation may serve as an example of the connection that occurs here between an expansion of the keyboard

Music Example 7 **Piano Trio Op. 11, 1st mvt, excerpts from the exposition (mm. 39–48, 67–71, 88–90), the development (mm. 106–116) and the recapitulation (mm. 204–208, 225–227), with a proposed alteration to the recapitulation**

range and an expansion of the formal dimensions, though the sheer physical limitation of the keyboard means that expansion here takes place by means of deferment: what cannot expand upwards has to expand outwards instead.

In view of the continuation of the second subject (mm. 67/88 in the exposition, mm. 204/225 in the recapitulation, see Music Example 7), we ought to consider whether an expansion of the tonal range to *a*6 is in fact already anticipated in Op. 11, not merely in Op. 53. The trill figures from bars 67/204 onwards – each time rising by a fifth – are arranged in such a way that they both contain *f*♯ – *g* and *g*♯ – *a*, in F major in the exposition and transposed to B♭ major in the recapitulation; in the recapitulation, however, in contrast to their surroundings, they are transposed downwards so as not to exceed the traditional range of the keyboard. In the final system of Music Example 7, we offer an example to demonstrate how the second half of bars 205 and 206 could actually be played an octave higher, which would also result in a literal transposition of the figure in question from the exposition. A contemporary pianist with a keyboard stretching to *a*6 would surely have played this passage an octave higher than printed.

We shall now return to the issue of key relationships. In bars 70 f. (and several times in the following bars, alternating with cadences in F major), the melodic sequence *g*♯ – *a*

is actually also given in the form of a cadence in a minor – which is not a diatonic key in the context of B♭ major (which usually has a diminished triad on the seventh degree), and which remains rather unusual even in the dominant key of F major as it is the key of the third degree of the scale. But in a certain sense, it is a transference of the 'gesture of expansion' g♯ – *a* onto the level of tonality. Beethoven seems to be suggesting that expanding the tonal space might also be accompanied by an expansion of the system of available diatonic keys.

The descending sequence in bars 88/225 is also melodically altered when it is transposed. In the exposition, the right hand of the piano plays the same part as the violin/clarinet (mm. 88 f.), but in the recapitulation (mm. 225 f.) it is given a tenth above the bass. This intervention is also due to the upper limitations of the tonal space, and a 'proposed' version on our part would look like the one given in the bottom system of Music Example 7; it would also go up to *a*6. Anyone with a piano that has keys above *f*6 (including all modern pianists) ought to play this version.

It is hopefully not an act of over-interpretation on our part to say that the first movement of the Trio Op. 11 is a utopian meditation on the part of the composer on the imminent introduction of an expanded piano keyboard and, above all, that those new possibilities would not impinge solely on the melody, timbre and the act of playing in the piano's highest register, but would also prompt new solutions for harmony, modulation and, ultimately, musical form too.

Op. 53: key transformation as a process The fact that there is a connection between expanding the formal sections and key complexity in Op. 53 has already been demonstrated by Anton Förster.[15] Our aim here is to go beyond this to point out the interaction between these structural changes and the expansion of the tonal space – taking our cue from our observations above on the early chamber music in which a 'gesture of expansion' was established with regard to the limitations of the keyboard, and which was also implemented to varying degrees in other parameters, such as the key structure and temporal expansion.

Given the exact harmonic reiteration of the 'gesture of expansion' demonstrated above, it seems obvious that Op. 53 refers back to Op. 12 No. 3 and Op. 11. It remains to be seen whether or not we might identify further references – such as the unexpected B♭-major triad in bar 5 of the first movement as a possible anecdotal reference to the 'gesture of expansion' in its earlier forms in B♭ major. Often, the C-major chord in bar 1

15 Anton Förster: Grande Sonate durch Erweiterte Tonalität. Harmonik und Form im ersten Satz der Klaviersonate op. 53 von Ludwig van Beethoven, in: *Festschrift Ulrich Siegele*, ed. by Rudolf Faber, Anton Förster, Hans Ryschawy, Jutta Schmoll-Barthel and Rolf W. Stoll, Kassel 1991, pp. 135–165.

is interpreted as the "subdominant [of] G major" (m. 3), which makes B♭ major (in m. 5) the subdominant of F major (m. 7).[16] In any case, the B♭-major triad in bar 5 joins a series of alternative harmonisations in this work of the traditional *lamento* model of a chromatically descending bass from the 1st to the 5th degrees of the scale (here in the 1st movement in mm. 1–9, then – perhaps more unusually – in the 2nd movement in mm. 1–6). Does the extended tonal range thus also transform such traditional compositional models?

The main difference between Op. 53 and the earlier works discussed above is that the keyboard range, which was formerly limited to f6, is actually exceeded in Op. 53. Accordingly, higher notes are no longer merely suggested here and there, nor is the melodic course in the upper register cut off where it was clearly intended to ascend. Instead, it becomes possible for Beethoven to unfold a generally more complex compositional structure within a larger tonal space and in an undisturbed fashion.

On the one hand, this aids Beethoven in handling the transposition of the exposition during the recapitulation and reduces any need for special acts of adaptation such as we have seen in his earlier works. On the other hand, it also now means that he can embark on finding new solutions for formal relationships in which an expanded approach to employing different keys corresponds to an expansion of the tonal space, and also results in an expansion of the formal structures.

As an example of this new conception of these aspects of musical form, we shall comment here on how Beethoven deals with the second subject, first in relation to the keys used in it (Music Example 8): For a sonata movement in C major, it is unusual to choose the key of E major for the second subject (from m. 35 onwards); it is the mediant of the tonic, just as was the case with D major in Op. 11, where the tonic was B♭ major; however, in contrast to the latter, the mediant key is here prepared in regular fashion and thus does not come as a surprise.

The transposition of this E-major passage in the recapitulation is first carried out in A major (from m. 196 onwards); this is a fifth lower, as was to be anticipated, but also creates a further mediant relationship to the tonic instead of transposing this passage into the tonic key itself. Expanding the tonal space range is thus accompanied by an expansion of the modulatory radius; embedding these new keys in the course of the movement takes more time, and, conversely (in the context of the expansion of the length of these movements) it also requires the use of a greater number of different keys so that these movements – normally rather restricted to the tonic and dominant keys – do not come across as in any way redundant.

16 Ibid., p. 137 f.

Music Example 8 Sonata Op. 53, 1st mvt, second subject in the exposition (mm. 35–50) and the recapitulation (mm. 196–211) and its reappearance in the coda mm. 284–295). Diminutions in the upper voice are given in small print: reduced notation except for mm. 204 (f6) and 207 (g6), basso continuo reduction of the middle voices.

The connection between this innovative way of dealing with structurally significant key relationships and the expansion of the tonal space lies in the fact that substituting A major in the recapitulation for the E major of the exposition can be interpreted as a composed-out 'gesture of expansion' (g –) g♯ – *a*. In Op. 11, too, Beethoven's experiments with the sequence of notes g♯ – *a* had resulted in the unusual key of a minor.

The key of a minor also occurs in the exposition of Op. 53. After the last cadence in E major (m. 74), Beethoven has to return us to C major for the repeat of the exposition. He does this by means of repeated cadences in e minor (touching on a minor each time), the last of which ends in an interrupted cadence onto a C-major chord (m. 84).

Several aspects are notable here with regard to the formal design of the second subject:

– The form of this passage is as regular as its key of E major is irregular: It is an eight-bar period (with two half-sentences beginning in the same way, a half-cadence in the middle and a perfect cadence at the close), which is repeated immediately afterwards with diminutions in the upper voice. The most striking element – apart from the key – is the fact that the consequent passage is lowered by an octave. The upper voice is dissolved into triplet diminutions during the repetition of the upper part, so the tenor part, which begins a sixth lower, becomes our focus of attention.
– The transposition of the second subject to A major in the recapitulation adopts the entire periodic structure of the exposition, also simply transposing the consequent

passage down, though it acquires a completely different key structure compared to the version given throughout in E major in the exposition. Only the antecedent phrase is given in A major, having been transposed regularly; after the half-cadence (m. 199), the consequent phrase begins with an a-minor chord, then after two bars that hover modally between a minor and C major, the music finally cadences in C major. Despite allusions to a minor generated by the notes g♯ – *a* in the bass and tenor (mm. 204 f./208 f.), the repetition is even more insistently cast in C major. Whereas the beginning of the antecedent phrase at bar 204 can theoretically still be heard as either C major or a minor (the notes g or *a*, which would be decisive for the one or the other, are here absent), in the consequent phrase from bar 208 onwards the tenor voice, which is now also present, begins with g and thereby definitively confirms that we are in C major.

– On the one hand, the key structure of the second subject is altered unusually in the recapitulation, though on the other hand, C major is reached, which is the 'correct' key for the recapitulation.

This dialectical process is enacted calmly and comprehensively in Op. 53 by means of relatively simple, largely imperceptible interventions:

– We have already mentioned the almost crude redefinition of the chord sequence A E f♯ C♯⁷ D (mm. 196 f.) into the 'modal' a e F C d (mm. 200 f.), while maintaining unaltered the framework of the outer parts.
– The modulation to C major is undertaken by a simple shift of bars 41 f. a third higher in bars 202 f. (see Music Example 8 again for a direct comparison of the exposition and recapitulation).
– In the 'repetition' from bar 204 onwards (which is no longer quite so literal), the upper part is not embellished by triplets as in the exposition (compare here mm. 35 and 43), but instead this occurs in a part lying a third higher (see mm. 204 and 196). At the same time, the bass part also proceeds a third higher.

However, this process only reaches a convincing conclusion in the coda of this movement: The fact that this formal section contains 'definitive' or 'corrected' versions of themes that have remained problematic over the course of this movement is a phenomenon found in many of Beethoven's works (see also Op. 11, the close of the first movement from m. 247 onwards, Music Example 5).

Op. 53 also offers a definitive version of the second subject in the coda from m. 284 onwards.[17] It now brings the version of the 'repetition' from the recapitulation twice (as

17 We use the definition "second subject" for this section of the coda after the manner of Ratz, who in

in m. 204) and is thus even more clearly in C major, which means the process of 'correcting' the originally 'incorrect' key of E major can now be brought to completion.

In the coda, the embellishments at the third above that were introduced in the course of the recapitulation (from m. 204 onwards) are now also given as the definitive upper part from the very start (as of m. 284).

In all these complex key processes within an extended form, certain aspects that are related to the expansion of the keyboard up to *a6* also play a role:

- In all three versions of the second subject, the sequence of notes g♯ – *a*, which we have already encountered as the 'gesture of expansion', occurs not only in the middle and upper voices in keys such as E major and A major (in which such a progression would naturally occur), but also repeatedly as a bass line that provides the foundation of the harmony. The prerequisite for this is the harmonic language of the second subject, which is strongly characterised by secondary dominants and interrupted cadences. In the exposition, g♯ – *a* in the bass generates A major after a dominant of c♯ minor (mm. 36/40/44/48). In the recapitulation, g♯ is the root of a diminished seventh chord that leads into a minor (mm. 204/208); this is also adopted in the coda (mm. 284/288). Even in the definitive C-major version of the second subject, the progression g♯ – *a* remains present.
- Raising the upper voice by a third in the recapitulation (from m. 204 onwards) also makes it possible to extend it beyond the former top note of the keyboard, *f6* (m. 204) by reaching up to *g6* (m. 207).
- The repetition of the dominant in the final cadence – which is given a retarding effect by means of fermatas (m. 290/292/294) – flirts with c minor within C major, and seems unable to decide between a♭ and a♮; it remains an open question whether we might be justified in seeing this as a reference to the gesture g♯ – *a*.

On the basis of this excerpt from the first movement alone – which is surely convincing enough – it will have become clear that the reason for Beethoven's somewhat hesitant use

the context of the Sonata in f minor Op. 57 wrote of "a kind of strophic division, in which not only the development re-traces the lines of the exposition through the introduction of a second model based on the material of the second subject, but the coda too is consciously constructed as a counterpart to the development, and thus acquires the significance of a further principal section of equal weight" ("eine gleichsam strophische Gliederung, indem nicht nur die Durchführung die Linien der Exposition nachzieht durch Einführung eines zweiten Modells, dem das Material des Seitensatzes zugrunde liegt, sondern auch die Coda bewußt als Gegenstück zur Durchführung gebaut wird und so die Bedeutung eines gleichwertigen Hauptteils erhält"). Erwin Ratz: *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre. Über Formprinzipien in den Inventionen und Fugen J. S. Bachs und ihre Bedeutung für die Kompositionstechnik Beethovens*, Vienna ³1973, p. 156.

of the newly available keys up to *a*6 has to do with the fact that the 'gesture of expansion' with which he stages his act of reaching beyond the old limitations has also influenced the harmonic twists employed in this movement, its key structure and its temporal expansion.

The sketches for the Sonata Op. 53 that are extant in the *Eroica Sketchbook* (Landsberg 6) also reveal traces of the advent of these new top notes.[18] Since the complex chronology of these sketches was extensively investigated and clearly presented by Barry Cooper back in 1977,[19] and then again by the editors of this sketchbook,[20] we shall focus on only a few details here (in Music Example 9, the relevant passages in the final, printed version and in the sketch are presented directly one above the other).

The final trills of the second subject in the exposition (m. 72 f.) and the recapitulation (m. 233 f.) are notated in the sketches without the additional notes that lie above them in the final version, and which go beyond the traditional piano range of the time. In the recapitulation (p. 129, stave 12), this is undertaken on an even more rudimentary basis than in the exposition (p. 122, stave 4). In the coda, the *a*6 at least is notated (m. 276 = p. 131, stave 16), though not the preparatory upper voice g6 – g♯6 (m. 275 = p. 130, stave 18). This late appearance of a note that exceeds the old range of the piano leads Cooper to conclude "that Beethoven did not initially intend to use notes above *f*6, and it was only [...] when he came to revise the coda sketch, that he at last admitted them".[21] In so doing, Cooper includes quite compelling considerations about the pianos that were available in Vienna and about the enlargement of their range, and refers to an article by William S. Newman[22] to bolster his arguments.

We argue here that the idea of the gradual extension of the tonal range by means of the transposed quotation of a 'gesture of expansion', already developed in earlier works, was from the outset a constitutive factor in the first movement of the Sonata Op. 53 and even encompassed parameters such as modulatory goals. In light of this, we propose the

18 *Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook. A Critical Edition*, ed. by Lewis Lockwood and Alan Gosman, Urbana/Chicago/Springfield 2013, Vol. 1: Commentary and Transcription, Vol. 2: Facsimile.

19 Barry Cooper: The Evolution of the First Movement of Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata, in: *Music & Letters* 58/2 (1977), pp. 170–191.

20 Cooper identifies seven stages of composition (ibid., pp. 173–177, 182 f. and 184–186), in which the *Eroica Sketchbook* p. 122 belongs to stage II, p. 129 to stage V, the first coda sketch on p. 130 to stage VI und the second continuity draft of the coda to stage VII (the final autograph of the sonata being stage VIII). Lockwood/Gosman condense these seven stages of composition into four and count p. 122 as part of stage 2, and everything from p. 129 f. as part of stage 4. See Lockwood/Gosman: *Beethoven's "Eroica" Sketchbook*, fig. 22/23, pp. 66–68.

21 Cooper: The Evolution, p. 184.

22 William S. Newman: Beethoven's Pianos versus His Piano Ideals, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 23 (1970), No. 3, pp. 484–504.

Music Example 9 Sonata Op. 53, 1st mvt, top notes in the exposition (mm. 68–74), recapitulation (mm. 229–235) and coda (mm. 275–278), comparison of final version (print) and sketch (*Eroica* Sketchbook), pp. 122, 129 and 130 f.)

hypothesis that while Beethoven might not have committed these new high notes to paper in his sketches, he very much had them in mind at all the places mentioned above. The concluding trills mark the precise moment at which the exposition and recapitulation were to reach their climax, and as we have shown above, Beethoven had already 'used up' the traditional climactic note of f6 in the initial bars of the movement.

In fact, Beethoven had already notated a high f♯6 at an early stage of the sketch (p. 122, stave 1 = m. 34, see also Music Example 9), though Cooper does not recognise it as such, according to his hypothesis: "One note on p. 122/1 looks like an f'''♯, but it could be a d'''♯, which would make equal musical sense".[23] But it does not "make equal musical sense",

23 Cooper: The Evolution, p. 184.

because the d♯ at this point (m. 34) belongs to the bass voice. While Beethoven indeed changed the f♯ in the upper voice in his final version, he did not do so by lowering it by a third, but by remaining on the *a* already in bar 33, which is thus a third higher than the f♯ at the end, and as the seventh in a dominant seventh chord it provides a sensible harmonic lead into the opening note of the second subject, g♯. This thereby generates a third part in the texture here, together with the d♯ in the bass.

Cooper's interpretation of the parallel passage in the recapitulation (p. 129, stave 5 = mm. 192–195) can also be doubted with respect to the voice-leading. What Beethoven writes in his sketch in the treble clef is probably the fourth bar of the bass part, not the third bar of the upper part as Cooper assumes. Cooper adds a fourth bar by continuing the line upwards with *a* – *b* – *c*♯ – *d*, but in so doing he once again mixes up two different parts of the texture.[24] Even if an element of guesswork is inevitable when trying to decipher how the process of composition as documented in the sketches (albeit in fragmentary form) actually relates to the completed work, it nevertheless becomes clear that taking aspects of Beethoven's compositional technique into consideration can provide relevant information in this context.

Op. 12 No. 3 once more: extending the keyboard to *a*♭6? In our above discussion of the Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, we gained the impression that the 'gesture of expansion' stood in the 'wrong' place in the close of the exposition, was free of any consequences in the recapitulation, and was thus ineffective with regard to the first movement's overall dramaturgy for the topmost notes of the keyboard. In particular, the use of the second subject in the recapitulation raised questions that have hitherto remained unanswered here.

This was possibly due to our approach being limited to the tone sequence (f6 –) f♯6 – g6, and we shall now reconsider this to conclude our investigations (see Music Example 10):

At first glance, the upward transposition of bar 110 in the recapitulation (the 'actual version' shown here) makes sense as it means that the top note of the keyboard, f6, can also be employed in the first subject. However, if we imagine the piano to possess a larger range (say, up to *a*6), then this adjustment seems like a restricted version of what was actually intended as a shift an octave upwards to *a*♭6 (as given in our tentative 'proposed version' in Music Example 10).

If a putative *a*♭6 were our top note, the content of bar 114 could easily be transposed as in bar 11 (see our 'proposed version'). The transposition by a fifth in the recapitulation already begins – unexpectedly – in bar 112, which results in the first subject (in E♭ major) being shifted to the subdominant key of A♭ major.

24 Ibid., p. 182 (with Ex. 13).

Finally, the passage in the second subject, bars 47/143, described above in the context of a range limited to f6 as an 'incomprehensible irregular transposition', can even be adapted in two ways to a keyboard that extends to a♭6. In our 'proposed version 1', its first occurrence in the exposition would be adapted thus: shifting the right hand of bar 47 up by a third would restore the 'normal' parallel movement in tenths between the right hand and the violin part in this passage, while we could avoid the octaves that in certain places are particularly conspicuous here (m. 47 in the "actual version"). Our 'proposed version 2' could even begin by smoothing out the violin part by having it play scales in sequences a third lower each time (thus avoiding the broken chord in between that results in the same climactic note being played twice). Also in this case, the right hand of the piano would be placed a tenth above it.

And in the closing section too (from mm. 58/154), we would also have an opportunity to present bars 157–159 an octave higher. This would provide an unambiguous highpoint for the whole movement in the form of b♭6 (Music Example 10; the *all'ottava* sign is given here in square brackets). In parallel with this, there is also a change in the violin part, where falling fifths an octave below the right hand of the piano contrast with the ascending sixths in the exposition (mm. 61–63). This could be understood as supporting the possible use of a higher octave in the piano part, but also as a possible substitute for it, since doubling the octaves at this point serves to emphasise the piano part, even if the lower transposition (compared to the exposition) results in a loss of tension.

Here, too, we can add certain specific observations about the use of the note a♭ in this sonata:

– The abovementioned transposition of the second part of the first subject downwards in the recapitulation from bar 112 onwards leads to a long passage in A♭ major that is structured quite differently from the transition in the exposition (for example, there is a sequence of 7-6 suspensions in mm. 119–121 instead of the *fonte* model of mm. 18–21).
– In the long g-minor section in the development (mm. 72–81), the Neapolitan note a♭ is used (m. 77).
– The second and third movements of the sonata (in mm. 15 f. and m. 40 respectively) employ the note a♭ with a striking emphasis, these instances being prepared by a short g (see m. 40 in Music Example 11); in some cases they turn back onto g, while in others they are led further upwards.

In the Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, the version that we tentatively propose would solve most of the piece's structural problems described here by introducing a keyboard range of up to a♭; this would actually have been perfectly playable on a piano with a range up to a6 such as was required for the Sonata Op. 53 (with the exception of a single 'virtual' b♭6 at

Music Example 10 Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, 1st mvt, excerpts from the exposition (mm. 7–11, 47 f., 58–64) and the recapitulation (mm. 110–114, 143 f., 154–160), with suggested alterations to specific passages in cases where the traditional limitations of the keyboard did not apply

Music Example 11 Violin Sonata Op. 12 No. 3, 2nd mvt, mm. 15–19; 3rd mvt, mm. 40–51

the very end of the first movement of Op. 12 No. 3). There can be no doubt that anyone owning such an instrument would not merely have played Op. 53 as notated, but would also have taken every opportunity offered to use the highest keys of his piano in Op. 12 No. 3 and Op. 11 as well – and not just in the two instances in these works where an f♯6 and a g6 are quite obviously 'missing'.

In this sense, and in the context of historically informed performance practice, we ought to include the actual musical text in our considerations. This is rarely questioned, but is far more dependent on instrumental realities than is often assumed, and ought not to be regarded as sacrosanct. It would seem that, as early as 1798, Beethoven was anticipating the construction of an instrument with a keyboard range of up to a6 or, better still, to b6 or even c7, and that he provided at least some of his works with corresponding options for such an extension. (From the perspective of his own day, the availability of a b♭6 would have been desirable inasmuch as it would have meant that all those figures involving the top note f6 in a traditional exposition could have been transposed upwards in the recapitulation without any limitations).

Similarly, no modern edition of these works may simply limit itself to adding these 'missing' notes in brackets just because they are playable on a modern instrument, without taking into consideration the compositional structure. For the various projected 'complete editions' of his piano works during his lifetime, Beethoven himself would have "altered" his older pieces and "adapted them to the contemporary pianoforte":[25] His piano builder Johann Andreas Streicher expressly asked him to "change here and there all the piano pieces that were written before the introduction of the pianoforte of 5½ or 6 octaves, and adapt them according to today's instruments".[26] Beethoven never set about doing this himself – after all, it would not have sufficed simply to add the 'missing' notes f♯6, g6, et cetera.

Perhaps we can even revisit the old argument about whether music is always composed exactly for the instruments of its time, or whether Beethoven was in fact dissatisfied with the instruments at his disposal and would gladly have used a modern instrument, had one actually been available to him. The answer is surely yes, he would have done – but he would indubitably have adapted his works to these instruments in turn. He would have made use of their greater range, he would have modulated into more distant keys

25 German original: "verändert, den jetzigen *Pianoforte* angepaßt". Johann Andreas Streicher to Carl Friedrich Peters (25 September 1824), in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 5, pp. 371–373, here p. 372.

26 German original: "alle *Clavier*-Stüke, welche vor Einführung der *Pianoforte* von 5½ oder 6 *octaven*, geschrieben worden, hie und da umändern und nach den jetzigen Instrumenten einrichten". Johann Andreas Streicher to Beethoven (5 September 1824), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, Vol. 5, pp. 358–360, here p. 359.

in more complex ways, and his works would have been considerably longer overall. And conversely, from the point of view of advocates of period instruments, no single appropriate instrument for them seems to exist – especially since the way Beethoven wrote for the piano, at least in his early works, as we have demonstrated here, often reveals a certain degree of utopianism.

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MARTEN NOORDUIN obtained his PhD from the University of Manchester in 2016 with a thesis on Beethoven's tempo indications. He was a researcher on the AHRC-funded project "Transforming Nineteenth-Century Historically Informed Practice" at the University of Oxford, and he has since held a research fellowship at the State Institute for Music Research in Berlin. He currently holds a position as researcher and lecturer at the Lübeck Academy of Music and has published research articles, essays, and reviews in the *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, *The Musical Times*, *Notes*, *Eighteenth-Century Music*, and

several collected editions on a variety of topics related to music in the long nineteenth century.

NEAL PERES DA COSTA is Associate Dean of Research and Professor of Historical Performance at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, University of Sydney. He has received high praise for his ground-breaking and impactful monograph *Off the Record. Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) and for the complete Brahms sonatas for solo instrument and piano (Bärenreiter Verlag, 2015/16), which he coedited with Clive Brown and Kate Bennett Wadsworth. Neal was a recipient of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project grant for research into nineteenth-century piano playing. Neal regularly performs with Australia's leading ensembles and has undertaken cutting-edge research that has led to performances and recordings of Classical and Romantic repertoire in period style including the landmark recording Brahms: *Tones of Romantic Extravagances* featuring Brahms's Op. 25 Piano Quartet and Op. 34 Piano Quintet (ABC Classics, 2017) which was awarded Recommended CD in *Strad Magazine* (UK).

SANDRA P. ROSENBLUM is the author of *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music. Its Principles and Applications* (1988), a book widely acclaimed by critics and highly influential in the field of performance practices. Since then her research has also included Chopin performance, notably the relationship between his pianos and the music he composed for them. Publications include "Chopin Among the Pianists in Paris" in *Chopin and His World*, ed. Bellman and Goldberg (2017); "The Same Piece for Different Pianos, Chopin's Response. A Study of Twin Autographs" in *Clefs pour le Piano/Keys to the Piano*, ed. Z. Kreidy (2018); as well as articles in *Early Music*, the *Journal of Musicological Research*, *Fontes Artis Musicae*, and the *Proceedings of the International Chopin Congresses* of 1999 and 2010, among others.

ROBERTO SCOCCIMARRO has been working since October 2022 on the project "How they used to sing Verdi?" at the University of Bologna. He has worked also as a musicologist in two projects of the Berlin State Library: "Schott Archive" and "Beethoven Collection at the Berlin State Library". In the years 2013–2016 he worked on the project "Dresden Court Music" at the SLUB Library of Dresden. His research fields are musical theatre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sketches studies, and the composer Leonardo Leo. He was awarded a PhD in Historical Musicology at the Hochschule für Musik und Tanz of Cologne (thesis: *Die Drammi seri von Leonardo Leo (1697–1744). Studien zur Überlieferung, Stilistik und Rezeption*, Berlin-Beeskow: Ortus, 2020). He holds a degree in piano from the Conservatorio Santa Cecilia of Rome and studied composition for several years. He has also worked with German, Austrian and Italian opera houses as a guest author, particularly with the Berlin State Opera and the Vienna State Opera.

Martin Skamletz, born in Austria in 1970, studied music theory and flute in Vienna, traverso in Brussels and composition in Feldkirch. After appointments at the Freie Musikschule Basel, Musikhochschule Trossingen and Vorarlberger Landeskonservatorium, he has been teaching music theory since 2007 at the Hochschule der Künste Bern HKB, where he is also responsible for the Research Institute Interpretation. www.hkb-interpretation.ch

Tilman Skowroneck, born in Bremen, studied harpsichord in The Hague and Amsterdam with Bob van Asperen, Anneke Uittenbosch, Ton Koopman and Gustav Leonhardt. In 1991, he was engaged as harpsichordist and fortepianist in the Swedish Baroque ensemble Corona Artis. With this ensemble he played a large number of concert productions and made several recordings. In 1999, he studied fortepiano and performance practices with Malcolm Bilson (Cornell University). In March 2007, he defended his doctoral dissertation about Beethoven's piano works. His book *Beethoven the Pianist* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2010. Between 2009 and 2011 he held a postdoctoral fellowship from the Swedish Research Council for a research project about Viennese fortepianos, carried out at the University of Southampton. Tilman Skowroneck is senior lecturer in musical performance at the Academy of Music and Drama (University of Gothenburg). He also works as freelance musician, music scholar, and translator. In 2016, he was appointed associate researcher at the Orpheus Institute in Ghent, Belgium, in Tom Beghin's ongoing research cluster "Declassifying the Classics".

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